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THE

FOREST CANTONS

OF

SWITZERLAND

LUCERNE, SCHWYZ, URI, UNTERWALDEN

BY

J. SOWERBY, M.A.

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INTRODUCTION

THIS volume is by no means intended to serve the office of a guide-book in the ordinary sense—this want is amply supplied already—neither is it intended to contain descriptions of scenery, though such may occur; but there are various points about which information is sometimes desired on which the ordinary guide-book touches but slightly, if at all. The tourist sometimes may desire to know something more about the inhabitants of the district in which he is sojourning, their history, manners and customs, social and economical conditions, language, &c. He may desire to know something about the men whose valour established of old the liberties of Switzerland; about those who afterwards maintained that liberty and enlarged the fame and extent of the Confederation; about other natives of the cantons who have distinguished themselves in art, literature, or science. It is hoped that in this volume the tourist may find some information on these points with respect to the inhabitants of the four Forest Cantons.

In the compilation of the volume the following works have been consulted:

ENGLISH.—*The History of the Swiss Confederation*, with Appendices on Tell and Winkelried. Rev. W. A. B. Coolidge. *The Republic of Gersau.* Rev. W. A. B. Coolidge.

GERMAN.—Works descriptive of the four Cantons: *Lucerne* (2 vols. 1858), Dr. Casimir Pfyffer; *Uri* (1 vol. 1834), Dr.

Carl Franz Lusser; *Schwyz* (1 vol. 1835), Professor G. Meyer von Kronau; *Unterwalden* (1 vol. 1836), Aloys Businger. *History of Switzerland* (1 vol. 1889), Dr. Carl Dändliker. *The Swiss Allmend* (1 vol. 1879) Dr. August Miaskowski. *Europaische Wanderbilder*—No. 1, Arth-Rigi Railway; No. 5, Einsiedeln; No. 16, Lucerne; No. 36, Vitznau-Rigi Railway; Nos. 30–32, St. Gotthard Railway; Nos. 51, 52, Burgenstock; Nos. 75, 76, Lake of Lucerne; Nos. 131, 132, Brünig Railway; Nos. 153, 154, Pilatus Railway. *Schweizer Kunde* (1 vol. 1875), H. A. Berlepsch. *The Waldstätte* (1861), Dr. A. Huber. *Old Lucerne* (1 vol. 1881), Dr. Theod. von Liebenau. *Forty-Five Years of Official Life in Lucerne* (1 vol. 1887), Dr. Ph. A. Segesser. *Constitutions of the Four Cantons* (1867–1890), *Legends, Customs*, &c. (1 vol. 1862), A. Lütolf. *Life of Bruder Klaus* (1 vol. 1875), E. L. Rochholz. *The "Visitors' Books" on the Rigi-Kulm* (1883), W. H. Vormann. *Jahrbuch* (Swiss Alpine Club, vol. vii.). *Flora of Switzerland* (1889), A. Gremli.

FRENCH.—*Les Origines de la Confederation Suisse* (1869), A. Rilliet. *Etudes Historiques* (1889), Prof. Eugene Rambert.

A few words may here be added about the different money standards used in the Forest Cantons and the variation in value subsequent to the fifteenth century. The right of coining was an imperial privilege which was conferred on all the four cantons at different times. This privilege was granted to Lucerne, in 1418 A.D., by the Emperor Sigismund; and shortly afterwards, in 1426, the Confederate cantons, then eight in number, agreed to leave the coining of money in the hands of Lucerne and Zürich. Their proceedings, however, frequently excited discontent, especially when the smaller coins were reduced in size. The separate cantons then sometimes exercised this right themselves. Thus in

1654 Canton Schwyz coined "schillings," and was in consequence admonished by Zürich. The right was very seldom, however, exercised by any of the Forest Cantons except Lucerne. In this canton a small amount of gold was found in the sand of the river Emme, in Entlebuch, and in the Luther, in the north-west of the canton, and some ducats were coined by Lucerne from the gold of its own rivers. Gold was found on the Diethelm, in the Wäggithal, in Canton Schwyz, and also in Canton Unterwalden, and especially in the Arni Loch, which has the reputation of having produced great treasures. But only one gold coin (rather a medal) known to have been coined by Canton Schwyz is extant; this dates from the fourteenth century, weighs fifteen ounces, and bears the inscription, "MONETA NOVA SUITENSIS. SALVE CRUX SANCTA ET BENEDICTA." This is sometimes found as a great rarity in collections. Unterwalden coined some ducats (value five to six gulden) with the likeness of Bruder Klaus, but on the whole they used the money coined at Lucerne or Zürich. The old Lucerne reckoning was by "pounds," each divided into twenty "schillings," and each schilling into twelve "pfennings." Later the "pound" was divided into fifteen coins, called "plapparts," each of which contained sixteen "pfennings." Presently the "pound" fell out of use, and three new coins were introduced—"gulden," "angster," and "heller"—this last being equal to the "pfenning," and the relation between them was:

1 gulden = 2 pounds = 40 schillings = 240 angster = 480 heller.
1 pound = 20 „ = 120 „ = 240 „
1 schilling = 6 „ = 12 „

This mode of reckoning continued until the period of the French Revolution, when it was changed for francs, batzen, and rappen—1 franc = 10 batzen = 100 rappen (centimes).

The gulden was then worth $1\frac{1}{3}$ francs. Since the middle of the fifteenth century the value of gold has depreciated at least six times, and the debasement of the lower values (*e.g.*, by coining more "schillings" from the same quantity of silver) in the Confederation made a great reduction in the value of money. It may be considered that the gulden in 1500 was worth twenty-five times as much as at present. The relation of the value of the gulden to gold remained practically unchanged, since in the earlier times twelve gulden were equal to the louis d'or of twenty-four francs; and at the present day the English sovereign = twenty-five francs, about twelve gulden. When we read, therefore, that the men of Gersau redeemed themselves from the overlordship of the family von Moos for 690 pounds of pfennings (in this case twenty plapparts went to the pound), this sum was equal to 690×20 plapparts, and this at 30 plapparts to the gulden made 460 gulden; and the present value of this sum would be 460×25 gulden = 11,500 gulden, about £960 of our money.

When the inhabitants of Hergiswyl redeemed themselves, in 1378, for 708 gulden, this sum at the present day would be represented by 17,700 gulden, and would be about £1500 of our money. The depreciation here assumed may perhaps be excessive.

Until the beginning of this century the inhabitants of Canton Uri used some peculiar coins, as "philippen" (philip d'or), each worth two and a half gulden, and "kronen" (crowns), each worth two gulden.

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CHAPTER I.

TOPOGRAPHY AND CHARACTERISTICS.

THE Waldstätte, comprising the Three Lands, Schwyz, Urï, and Unterwalden, together with Lucerne, or, as they are more commonly called, the four Forest Cantons, which form the subject of the present volume, are clustered around the Lake of Lucerne. The Canton of **Lucerne** lies on the north-west of the lake, Schwyz on the north-east, Uri on the south, and Unterwalden on the south-west. The whole region is drained by the lake and the Reuss, which passes through it, with the exception of about half of the Canton of Schwyz, which drains into the Sihl, and thence into the Limmat, near Zürich, and a portion of Canton Lucerne on the borders of Aargau, which sends its waters to the Aar. The four cantons are, as it were, enveloped by the valley of the Aar, that of the Rhine from the Oberalp Pass to Sargans, and a line drawn along the Lakes of Wallenstadt and Zürich. Their surface may, roughly speaking, be regarded as an inclined plane, sloping from south-east to north-west, whilst the mountain summits and passes along the border decrease in height in the same direction. The four cantons attained their present shape about the beginning of this century. The boundaries which divide them from each other and from the other Swiss cantons are sufficiently indicated on the annexed map.

The surface of Canton Lucerne is divided almost equally into an undulating hill region and a mountain region. The latter consists of the vale of Entlebuch, containing the villages

of Escholzmatt, Schüpheim, Entlebuch, and Wohlhausen. The valley occupies the whole breadth of the canton in the south, between Bern and Unterwalden, as far as the Napf. Here a ridge called the Menzberg, with its continuations, divides the Entlebuch from the rest of the canton. The stream of the Kleine Emme, which drains the Entlebuch, enters the Reuss at the Emmenbrücke, half an hour below Lucerne. North and west of the Entlebuch, are a number of villages divided by ranges of low hills mostly running in a northerly direction. To the west is the valley drained by the Wigger, passing by Willisau and leaving the canton near Zofingen; then the valley of the Sempacher See, drained by the Suhr or Suren; the valley of Münster (or Beromünster) drained by the Wina, entering the Aar near Aarau, and lastly, the vale of Hitzkirch, drained by the Aa, which passes through the Lakes of Baldegg and Hallwyl. The latter lake is, however, almost entirely outside of the canton. The Lakes of Sempach and Baldegg are the only lakes of any size in the canton after the Lake of Lucerne. The Lake of Sempach was much diminished by draining in 1806, whereby a large amount of land was made available for cultivation, though some land and houses near Neuenkirch subsided into the water. Similar operations between Sursee and Dagmarsellen have reclaimed a great deal of land in the course of the small lakes Mauensee and Wauwylersee. The course of the Reuss in Canton Lucerne is very short. Leaving the lake at Lucerne, it runs west and north-west to the Emmenbrücke. Here it turns abruptly to the north-east, and so continues until it leaves the canton near Gislikon, after a course of little more than ten miles. The part of the canton (Entlebuch excepted) which drains to the Reuss is separated from the rest by a line of low hills, and similar lines of hills bound the valleys which trend northward to Canton Aargau.

The part of the Lake of Lucerne contained in the canton includes the greater part of the "Kreuztrichter," or cruciform

portion of the lake, formed of the Bays of Lucerne and Küssnacht and the greater portion of the Bays of Weggis and Hergiswyl. No part of the canton is plain land. Some of the lower lying valleys as they trend towards Aargau may, at the outside, have a breadth of five or six miles, as in the valley of the Wigger at Dagmarsellen on the border of Aargau, where the canton slopes to its lowest point. The northern half of the canton, roughly speaking, varies between 1,400 and 2,000 feet above the sea, the hills of course rising to a higher level. The southern portion or mountain region seldom falls below 2,000 feet, and the floor of the valley, which at Wohlhausen is 1,873 feet, rises to nearly 3,000 feet at Escholzmatt. The mountain chain which bounds the valley attains in the Napf a height of 4,619 feet, in the Tannhorn (the most southern point of the canton), 7,290 feet, in the Brienzer Rothhorn, 7,713, and in the Pilatus 6,998 feet.

The northern half of the canton is well-cultivated land, smiling farms with orchards, walnut and chestnut trees, interspersed here and there with a dark pinewood. The vale of Entlebuch is, on the other hand, almost entirely pastoral. The mountains, with the exception of a few rocky summits, form excellent pastures, and are everywhere accessible to cattle. Some gorges are no doubt practically useless, as the ravines which descend from the Napf towards Entlebuch, which are yearly ravaged by the wild streams of the Gross and Klein Fontannen, but even here the upper slopes are always occupied, and supply abundant pasture. A small portion of the surface in the Entlebuch is arable land; the rest is divided between woods and pastures. The extent of the woods in the whole canton being 70,000 acres, by far the larger portion of which is in the Entlebuch.

The greatest length of the canton from north to south is about 35 miles, between the Tannhorn on the borders of Canton Bern and Schongau, east of the Hallwyler See on the border of Aargau, and from east to west between the

Vitznauerstock on the border of Canton Schwyz and St. Urban, on the border of Canton Bern, about 36 miles. Its area is 579 square miles, thus ranking the ninth in size amongst the Swiss Cantons. In 1888 the population was 135,360, Lucerne, the chief town, having 20,314.

The surface of Canton **Schwyz** is very irregular, and less limited by natural boundaries than any of the other three cantons. It falls in about equal parts to the Lake of Lucerne, and to the Sihl, whilst a very small portion on the north-west drains to the Lake of Zug. This last includes the greater part of the Rigi (the summit of which is in the canton), part of the Lake of Zug, with the villages of Arth and Goldau. On the north side of the Bay of Buochs, enclosed by the Vitznauerstock, the Rigi Scheideck, and the Hoch Fluh, lies the well-sheltered and fertile basin of Gersau, which for many years was an independent state, and was only incorporated in the canton of Schwyz in 1803.

The two larger portions of the canton are divided by a line of heights whose summits run from north-west to south-east, whilst their ridges run south-west to north-east. The northern half, in which are the town and convent of Einsiedeln, is a plateau drained by the Sihl and its affluents into the Limmat. To the north-east, on the border of Glarus, the Aa flows through the Wäggithal, into the Lake of Zürich. The southern half (the original Land Schwyz) is drained by the Muotta, which, rising in the rugged plateau north of the Klausen Pass, flows north and north-west through the Bisithal, past the village of Muotta, until near the town of Schwyz. Here it is joined by the Seewen stream from the Lake of Lowerz, and turning to the south-west, enters the lake not far from Brunnen. Formerly much wood from the Bisithal was floated down the Muotta. In the narrow gorge the logs occasionally got jammed, and a vast mass of wood accumulated. Men were let down by ropes into the gulf to clear away the obstruction with hooks and axes, and in this dangerous work lives were not unfrequently

lost. At this same spot the Russians under Suwarow were stopped, in October, 1799.

The only level part of the canton is the plain of Schwyz, between the base of the Mythen and the Bay of Brunnen. Here there is a certain amount of cultivation, but the greater part of the canton is either meadow, pasture, or woodland. Of this last, the canton possesses more than any other canton in proportion to its size, especially in the southern half (the old Land Schwyz), where it is said to be one third of the entire area. This has, however, much decreased in the last half-century; as is, indeed, plainly to be seen when a view of any part taken now is compared with one taken fifty years ago, *e.g.*, of the convent and town of Einsiedeln as seen from the chapel on the Katzenstrick, the path which traverses the ridge west of Einsiedeln, and leads to Altmatt in the valley of the Biber. In the former view (an old lithograph, date 1840), the low hills behind Einsiedeln, the Freiherrenberg, &c., are thickly covered with wood. In the latter (a photograph of 1890), a great part of the wood is seen to be either entirely removed, or replaced by young plantations. The heights further back, which intervene between Einsiedeln and the higher summits near the Glärnisch, which are wooded in the one view, are seen to be bare in the other. In man's works the changes are also great. The convent, indeed, remains the same, but the town is quite transformed. Instead of a number of separate houses irregularly placed, you see a regular town—railway station, new schools, large business establishments, new streets, new roads in the valley, and new walks all over the hills—not less is the contrast between the national costumes in one drawing and the modern fashions in the other. The greater part of the mountain region of Schwyz, with the exception of some rugged summits such as the Mythen, is everywhere pasture. Only in the east and north-east, towards the cantons of Glarus and Uri, do we find summits which rise to the level of perpetual snow. The highest mountain in the canton is the

Böse Faulen (9,200 feet), to the south of the Glärnisch, at the head of the Ratschthal, a branch of the Bisithal. The wild region between the Pragel and Klausen Passes is a desolate rugged plateau where we often meet with large areas of bare limestone rock (locally called Schratten) seamed by the action of water with a thousand cracks like the crevasses of a glacier.

The greatest extent of the canton from east to west, between Mörlischachen on the Bay of Küssnacht, and Richisau on the Pragel Pass, is about twenty-seven miles; from north to south, between the embouchure of the Linth into the Lake of Zürich, and the Glatt Alp near the Klausen Pass, about twenty-four miles. The area is about 350 square miles. In 1888, the population was 50,307.

The only towns of any importance are Einsiedeln with a population of 8,506, and Schwyz (the capital) with 6,616. The occupation of the inhabitants (except in Einsiedeln) is almost entirely pastoral, and the breed of cattle is highly esteemed.*

Canton **Unterwalden** is surrounded by a semicircle of hills, whose ends are at Treib and Stanstad, both on the Lake of Lucerne. This line falls nowhere below 4,000 feet above the sea, except at the Brünig Pass and at the point where the boundary between Unterwalden and Uri crosses the Valley of Engelberg, near the chalets of Herrenrüti. The upper part of the valley of Engelberg, from the fall of the Tätschbach to the Surenen Eck, which would seem naturally to belong to Unterwalden, forms part of Canton Uri. After a long series of disputes about boundaries between the men of Uri and the Abbey of Engelberg, similar to those between Schwyz and the Convent of Einsiedeln, this district was assigned to Uri by a decree of Ludwig IV., in 1316. The same decree gave them the possession of the Urnerboden (also called March), east of the Klausen Pass, which seems more properly to be part of

* See chapter vi.

Glarus. A similar anomaly appears in the fact that a small portion of the south shore of the lake, namely the small pasture of Matt at the foot of the Bürgenstock, belongs to Lucerne. Unterwalden has been divided into the two half-cantons of Ob-dem-Wald and Nid-dem-Wald since the twelfth century, with separate general assemblies and constitutions. The half-canton of Ob-dem-Wald is drained by the stream of the Sarner Aa, which, rising near the Brünig Pass, flows through the Lakes of Lungern and Sarnen, and falls into the Lake of Alpnach. It receives on the left bank the streams of the Lauibach and of the Gross and Klein Schlieren, which often threaten to destroy the village of Alpnach, and on the right bank the Melch Aa, which has been diverted into the Lake of Sarnen. The outlying district of Engelberg, which would more naturally be attached to Nid-dem-Wald, was incorporated with Ob-dem-Wald in 1815. This district includes the upper basin of the Engelberger Aa, and is entirely separated from Ob-dem-Wald by a narrow strip of Nid-dem-Wald, only two to three miles in width, and extending south as far as the Titlis. The northern portion of Nid-dem-Wald consists of the lower basin of the Engelberger Aa, which, passing by Stans, falls into the lake near Buochs, and of two small valleys descending from the Hoch Brisen, and the Oberbauen to the Lake of Lucerne at Beckenried and Emmetten. The Wald* spoken of in the names of the half-cantons is the great wood near Kerns, which divided the upper from the lower half of the canton, without respect to Engelberg. In Unterwalden there is no plain land except in the neighbourhood of Stans and Buochs. The mountains which enclose the valley of Engelberg rise in many cases above the level of perpetual snow. The Titlis (10,827 ft.) is the highest. But the greater part of the hill districts are everywhere accessible to cattle. The extent of the canton from east to west, between the Feuerstein and the Seelisberger

* Whether Wald in Nid-Wald, Vier-Waldstälter See, &c., is the German word Wald (wood), or is derived from the Latin *vallis*, is uncertain.

Kulm, is about thirty miles; and from north to south, from the Erz Egg near the Melch See, to the Bürgenstock, about twenty miles. The area is about 195 square miles, of which a fifth is woodland. The population in 1888 was 27,581. In 1835 it was 23,600. The two principal towns are Sarnen, in Obwald, with 3,906, and Stans in Nidwald, with 2,458 inhabitants. The occupation of the inhabitants is almost exclusively pastoral, and Canton Unterwalden may be called a perfect specimen of a pastoral country. No more beautiful views can be found than from the neighbourhood of Stans or Sarnen, over the smiling low lands, backed by the green slopes and the summits of the Stanzerhorn or the Pilatus.

The chain of summits which surrounds Canton **Uri** is elsewhere described.* This canton is drained entirely by the Reuss. This stream, rising near the Fibbia, in Canton Tessin, west of the St. Gotthard Pass, runs nearly north to the Lake of Lucerne at Flüelen. On the left bank, near Hospenthal, it receives the stream of the Urserenthal from the Furca Pass; at Göschenen the stream from the great glaciers of the Dammastock and Winterhorn; at Wasen the stream from the Meienthal; below Amsteg, at Erstfeld, the stream from the Erstfeldthal. On the right bank it receives at Andermatt the stream from the Ober and Unter-Alpthal from either side of the Piz Baduz; at Amsteg the Maderaner-Reuss, with its branch, the Etzlibach; and at Altdorf the stream of the Schächenthal, coming from the Klausen Pass. The stream from the north side of the Uri Rothstock flows down the Isenthal into the Bay of Uri, near Flüelen. In this canton we find a different aspect from the smiling and gentle slopes of the others. The sombre and grand scenery of the southern bay of the lake prepares the traveller for the change. For a short distance from Flüelen to Altdorf and Amsteg the inclination is gentle. Walnut and chestnut trees enliven the landscape, though right and left there are frowning cliffs. But after

* See chapter xix.

passing Amsteg the ascent begins to the St. Gotthard Pass, and the scene rapidly changes. No more, or very little, cultivated ground; the pastures often rough with stones; wild gorges, traversed by foaming torrents. In the lateral valleys many fine alps are to be found, where the herds pasture in summer; but the higher summits rise far above these. As we pass the entrances of the Maderanerthal, or the Göschenenthal, we see in the back-ground dark rocky summits, mingled with gleaming snowy points, with vast masses of glacier.

The greatest extent of Canton Uri from north to south, between Sisikon, on the Bay of Uri, to the St. Gotthard Pass, is about thirty-six miles; and from east to west, from the boundary west of the Surenen Pass, to the March alp on the border of Glarus, about twenty-five miles. The area is 415 square miles, of which a large portion is woodland. The highest summit is the Dammastock (11,910 feet) at the head of the Göschenenthal. The population in 1888 was 17,249, and that of Altdorf, the chief town, 2553. In 1811 these numbers were 11,710 and 1,623. Altdorf has no trade, and the occupations in the canton are entirely pastoral.

The four cantons thus briefly described had for centuries no other easy means of communication with each other than by the Lake of Lucerne, which they enclosed. There were, certainly, narrow and difficult footpaths along its shore, or over mountain passes. Towards the west they communicated with the outer world through Lucerne; to the south (but at a much later period) by the pass of St. Gotthard. Only within the present century—indeed within the last generation—have the communications been rendered more easy by the construction of roads from Lucerne to Alpnach, round the base of the Lopperberg; from Weggis to Vitznau, Gersau, and Brunnen; and lastly, the Axenstrasse from Brunnen to Flüelen, to be succeeded only ten years ago by the railway.

Lands so shut in and secluded from the outer world might well be expected to preserve their main characteristics

unaltered, and such to a great extent is the case since they became known to history.

The general appearance of the inhabitants of the four cantons is in the main the same, varying only with the conditions of their existence.

In Canton Lucerne, in the agricultural portions, *i.e.*, in the north-west where the most flat land is, the men are strong and broad-shouldered, but more squat than slender. In the Entlebuch, where cattle-breeding is the chief occupation, the men are taller and handsomer, and yet strong. Finer and better-looking in the present day than formerly, the old armour is generally found too small now to fit a man of any size and height; the improvement, no doubt, to be ascribed to better feeding, and more healthy conditions of life. The weakest, the worst made, and least healthy, are those engaged in indoor occupations; like the weavers in the valleys of the Wigger and the Suren, and about Lucerne, easily to be recognized by their thin and pale faces. In the country these disadvantages are often redeemed by out-door occupations for a portion of the year. Good-looking girls and young women are not uncommon, but they soon lose their good looks from the constant hard work both in and out of doors. The men of the Entlebuch are the handsomest and strongest in the canton.

The disposition of the inhabitants is generally cheerful, and they enjoy the festivals which come in their way, and in Lucerne itself this is more especially the case. It has been said of Lucerne, that whilst in wealth and commercial activity it was far behind several of its neighbours, in the genial good humour of its inhabitants it was second to none. Not that work and the interests of commerce were neglected, but the citizen of Lucerne was satisfied if he had worked enough to satisfy his needs, and agreed with the proverb about all work and no play.

In Canton Schwyz the men are strongly-built, but seldom above the middle size. Tall men are seldom found except in the Muottathal, and in the north-east of the canton in the

Wäggithal. They are characterised by a broad, open brow, a clear blue or grey eye, and a good-humoured look. The women generally are also short, seldom handsome, but bright-looking with healthy complexions, which they are said to retain long, unlike the inhabitants of Canton Lucerne.

In Canton Unterwalden, the people of Obwald are distinguished from those of Nidwald in much the same way as the men of Entlebuch are from those of Canton Lucerne. The men of Obwald are taller and stronger, and good wrestlers, like the men of Entlebuch. The shape of the face is oblong, the features fine, and the countenance full of dignity. It is not uncommon amongst the elder men to find those of the type of Nicholas von der Flue, who cannot be regarded without reverence. The young women and girls are often beautiful.

In Nidwald the men are not so tall, and the shape of the face is round rather than oval. Here, too, the women are often good-looking, especially in the neighbourhood of Stans. In both divisions of the canton the skin is fair, the complexion healthy, and the constitution good. Lame, blind, deaf and dumb persons or *crétins* are of very rare occurrence.

In Canton Uri likewise the men are strongly built and of middle size, the shape of the face round, and the features generally regular, the feet often short and broad. The men in the Schächenthal are generally taller, with fairer skin and lighter hair than in the Reussthal. In the Meienthal they are often found with fair hair and blue eyes. In the neighbourhood of Seelisberg they are more like the people of Nidwald; and at Sisikon and in the Riemenstaldenthal more like those of Schwyz. The people of Urseren are a kind of cross between those of Uri, Val Leventina, and Granbünden. In Uri, as elsewhere, the men of the mountains are taller and stronger than those of the valleys. The women have fairer complexions and finer colour.

In the differences here described (except in Urseren) there is no evidence of a difference of race. If several types occur

they have existed together or in separate groups since the occupation of the country. The differences in size and strength are a consequence of different modes and conditions of life.

The Waldstätte are still the centre of the Swiss Confederation; the Three Lands are still one of the fairest regions of a beautiful land. The inhabitants are still what they were of old—conservative, holding fast by old traditions of which they have proved the value; bold, true, valiant, yet simple, lovers of freedom, devoted body and soul to the Fatherland. They have no longer the importance which they once had, when Schwyz was the forefront of the alliance, bravely supported by Uri, Unterwalden, and Lucerne. These for four centuries upheld gallantly the banner of freedom, and repelled every attack on their mountain fortress. Now six centuries have passed away, and the sixth centenary of the Eternal League has been celebrated. The Forest Cantons, which laid the foundation of Swiss freedom, are far surpassed in importance by other cantons which did less service to the Confederation, and can show fewer laurels in their crown of fame. Political differences may for a time cause a want of unity to arise between the Lands and the other Cantons, or even between the Lands themselves, but when the hour of trial or danger comes then all differences will be forgotten, and only the spirit of unity and brotherhood will be remembered. Not so long ago a tourist was enjoying a walk amongst the pretty farms on the Bay of Buochs, under the Bürgenstock. He met an old farmer, who held out his hand, which the tourist grasped. The farmer pointed to the tourist's legs (he was in knickerbockers), and exclaimed, "Gute alte mode! Gott und Vaterland."

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL HISTORY.

IN the fifth century A.D. the country to the north of the Lake of Lucerne was colonised by the Alamannians, a German tribe. The first notices we have of these districts in history are those of the founding of the Hofkirche, at Lucerne, in 750 A.D. (the name Lucerna occurs in the deed of gift) and of the gift by Ludwig the German (to whom German Switzerland was allotted, on the division of the empire of Charlemagne) of his possessions in Uri to the Frauenmünster in Zürich. In 1032 Burgundia and in 1038 Alamannia, and with them all north Switzerland, came under Imperial authority. In the tenth century we hear of the founding of Einsiedeln, and the colonisation of the valley of Engelberg, and in the next century the convent of that name was founded. This region remained under the emperors for five centuries. As the power of the empire began to decay, that of the great vassals increased. Fiefs and offices became hereditary; the emperors gave away many privileges, as those of fishing, hunting, taxing, coining, or mortgaged them through necessity. The ecclesiastical rulers not being able themselves to exercise criminal jurisdiction, either appointed, or got the emperor to appoint, a noble as their "advocate." These offices became hereditary. The ecclesiastical and temporal lords in the Forest Cantons had nearly all the land in their hands, except small portions held by freemen, who were most numerous in Schwyz. These freemen were comparatively independent, but the position of

those lower down was deplorable, though under spiritual lords it was better than under temporal.

The worst off were the "bondsmen," who might be sold like slaves, separately from the property on which they laboured. Better than these, though not well off, were the "half-free," who could not be alienated from the farms on which they lived. Besides rent and fees they had to pay fines in case of death, for a renewal of lease; had to give a certain number of days' work without payment, &c. Both these classes were better off under ecclesiastical, than under temporal lords, for the rule of the former was generally milder. The freemen were in the best position; they had land of their own; but they still had to pay a ground rent to the lord of the manor. In cases of difficulty they were sometimes in danger of losing their property, and even their freedom, and becoming bondsmen. And so they were driven to combine, and either assert their privileges by force, or gain a safer position by appealing to the emperor for a declaration of independence from all authority but his own. Immunity from jurisdiction, as well as other royal rights, were granted to many ecclesiastical foundations: the Bishops of Lausanne, Sion, Basel, Constanz, Chur; the Abbots of St. Gall, Muri, Einsiedeln, Engelberg; the Abbess of the Frauenmünster in Zürich—were all great landlords, and possessed princely rights. The great temporal lords were, in east Switzerland, the houses of Lenzburg, Kyburg, Habsburg, Rapperschwyl, Toggenburg, and Regensburg; in west Switzerland the Counts of Geneva, Greyerz, Neuchâtel, and Savoy. Of these, perhaps, the Habsburgs were the most fortunate. Besides their hereditary possessions in Alsace and Aargau they inherited in 1172 the possessions of Lenzburg, in Aargau, and the Waldstätte; and later in the 13th century those of Rapperschwyl and Kyburg, and were likely to play the part of the Rheinfelden and Zahringen dynasties. A counterpoise to the nobles was formed by the union of a number of farms into a commune. They obtained a certain amount of

wood-land and pasture, which they used in common, according to fixed rules.

Some of these communes were able, by purchase or otherwise, to diminish the lord's rights and extend their own, and the formation of these communes was the germ of Swiss freedom. Walled towns were also formed; for though the Alamannians hated towns, and loved to live in separate scattered farms, they were driven to wall themselves in by the attacks of foreign enemies. They soon gained various advantages not shared by the country communes—the right of holding courts, of opening markets, levying tolls, coining, &c. They were generally grouped round some ecclesiastical foundation. Such was Lucerne, which was dependent on the Abbey of Murbach in Alsace. As the church power decayed, the towns gained more privileges. Their great object was to become immediately dependent on the emperor. The population of the towns was a great mixture of classes. The "bondsmen" and the "half-free" were only allowed to settle in the towns by permission of their lord. They were generally only handicraftsmen, whilst the free inhabitants were occupied in trade or agriculture. The bondsmen and half-free men became free in one year after settling unless reclaimed by their lord.

The valley communes of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, were not defended like the towns by walls, but by their mountain ramparts, and were united by the possession and use of the Allmend. Uri, from the Devil's Bridge to Altdorf, was occupied by king's men, who in 853 came under the rule of the Frauenmünster, and so enjoyed a large degree of liberty. In the twelfth, and in part of the thirteenth century, the position of bailiff to the convent (kastvogt) was held by the family of Zahringen. In 1231 Uri obtained from Henry VII. a charter declaring their immediate dependence on the Imperial authority. In Schwyz, the freemen preponderated over the other two classes. Their bailiff was the Count of Lenzburg. Schwyz early showed itself conscious of its strength,

when in the quarrels with the Convent of Einsiedeln about the boundaries, it refused to obey the decree of Henry V. (1114), or Conrad III. (1144), and disregarded also the ecclesiastical fulminations, even compelling the priests during the Interdict to perform their functions. Unterwalden was politically inferior to Schwyz and Uri. There were indeed a number of freemen, but they were scattered amongst many temporal and ecclesiastical lords; yet we find them in the thirteenth century striving along with their neighbours for freedom. In 1218, the family of Zahringen died out, and the Habsburgs now became bailiffs of Uri. This family, besides large possessions in Zürichgau and Aargau, had much property in the Waldstätte. In 1243, we find Uri (having already obtained Reichsfreiheit)* using a seal of its own. Schwyz, in 1240, obtained from Frederick II., then warring in Italy, a letter declaring them to be king's men, but this was not fully carried out. When Frederick was excommunicated by Pope Innocent IV., in 1245, the men of Schwyz took his part, and a struggle ensued like that between Henry IV. and Rudolf of Rheinfelden in 1077. In this struggle, as well as the Three Lands, the towns of Zürich and Lucerne came under the Papal bann. Zürich drove out the clergy who refused to perform their duties, and Lucerne and the Lands attacked the Abbot of Murbach and the Counts of Habsburg. The alliance formed in 1245, between the Three Lands and the two towns, was the first step towards the founding of the Confederation. There was a continuous struggle between them and the Habsburgs round the Lake of Lucerne until 1256, when it was terminated by the Interregnum. Uri's freedom from the authority of the bailiffs was admitted, but Schwyz and Unterwalden had once more to submit to the Habsburgs. About this time the head of that family was Rudolf III. of the elder line. In 1273 he was chosen Emperor and King, and his double position as king and bailiff filled Uri with alarm. By purchase or intrigue

* *i.e.* immediate dependence on the Imperial authority.

he extended his possessions, obtaining, amongst others, Einsiedeln and Urseren (1283). Shortly before his death he purchased, in 1291, from the Abbot of Murbach, Berchtold of Falkenstein, all his rights over the town of Lucerne, along with many farms attached to the Hofkirche, for 2,000 marks, to the great discontent of the inhabitants. Rudolf seemed likely to acquire almost all the region between the Alps, the Rhine, and the Jura, and to enclose the Waldstätte as in a net; when his death on July 25th, 1291, brought them relief. Their hopes of freedom rose again, and on August 1st of that year the Three Lands met and concluded the Eternal League. Soon Zürich and the states in east Switzerland joined them in their opposition to Austria. At first they were unsuccessful; Zürich was defeated before Winterthur; the town was besieged, and though not taken, was compelled to conclude a peace, and the Waldstätte were compelled to abandon the struggle.

The new Emperor Adolf acknowledged (1297) the independence of Schwyz and Uri; but in the following year Albrecht was elected, who refused to acknowledge the independence of either, and the Lands found themselves again exposed to the same dangers as in the case of Rudolf III. in 1273. This was, however, averted by the death of Albrecht, who was murdered in 1308 by his own nephew, John of Austria. His successor, Henry VII., acknowledged (1309) the independence of Uri and Schwyz, and also of Unterwalden. Henry formed the Three Lands into a special district, and proposed to settle the claims of the Habsburgs by arbitration. His death in 1313 prevented this. The throne was then disputed by Ludwig of Bavaria, and Frederick of Habsburg. The Lands supported the former, and the men of Schwyz seized upon the Austrian possessions of Einsiedeln and Arth. Frederick commissioned his brother Leopold to punish the Waldstätte. At this time the Three Lands had not acquired their present extent. Uri, in which the Convents of Wettingen and Frauenmünster still had large possessions, extended only to the Devil's Bridge.

Urseren was still under the rule of the Convent of Disentis. Canton Schwyz had only the inner Land. Einsiedeln was independent. Arth, Küssnacht, Gersau, and the districts on the Lake of Zürich, were not yet added. Unterwalden had neither Hergiswyl nor Engelberg.

On November 14th, 1315, the army of Leopold, some 10,000 in number, advanced to attack the 1300 Confederates posted on the Sattel, and at Morgarten they were completely defeated.*

This great victory not only destroyed the supremacy of Austria, but strengthened the bond between the Three Lands. On December 9th, 1315, the Eternal League of 1291 was solemnly renewed at Brunnen. The Habsburgs, however, still sought to recover their lost power, and the Lands had to look round for support. They formed alliances with Bern and Thun; and finally, Lucerne—whose hostility was the most to be feared, and whose friendship was of all the most valuable—joined the League in 1332. Since 1291 she had been much oppressed by the Habsburgs and their officials, after the comparatively gentle rule of the Convent of Murbach. The necessity of free communication by the lake and of a market for their produce were strong incentives to the friendship between the Lands and Lucerne. So now for the first time the four Forest Cantons (Vierwaldstätte) are found united. The mountain cantons were now joined with the plain, and an alliance was secured which would be equally advantageous in war and in peace. The intrigues and attacks of Austria held the Confederates together, and made others anxious to join them. In the two years, 1351–1353, Zürich, Bern, Zug, and Glarus became members of the Confederation, which was now formed of the eight old cantons. But they were not yet free; Schwyz and Unterwalden had still to pay dues to the Habsburgs, and by the Peace of Brandenburg (1352) all the members of the Bund were bound to form no separate alliance with other towns and lands under the authority of Austria. But the strength and

* See chapter xv.

security of the Waldstätte were greatly increased by Bern and Zürich as bulwarks on either side.

In 1375, the men of Lucerne, Entlebuch, and Unterwalden, aided in defeating the invasion of Ingelram de Coucy, which was completed by Bern at Kloster Fraubrunnen. The Lands and Lucerne aided Bern and Soleure to repulse the attacks of the House of Kyburg; but when, in 1385, Zürich, Bern, Soleure, Lucerne, and Zug formed an alliance to resist Leopold of Austria, the Three Lands held aloof. They were already jealous of the towns. Zürich attacked and took Rapperschwyl, Zug (aided by Schwyz) took the strong fortress of St. Andrea on the Zugersee, and Lucerne, after destroying the castle of Rothenburg, where the Vogt resided, received as allies Entlebuch and Sempach. When in 1386 Leopold advanced against the Confederates, the towns made peace with Austria, and left the Three Lands and Lucerne to bear the brunt. They were equal to the occasion. The army of Leopold, about 6,000 in number, encountered the small body of 1,500 Confederates, of whom 400 were from Lucerne, near Sempach. The horsemen of Leopold dismounted, as the ground was unfavourable, and formed in a close body with their spears protruding, against which the Confederates, mostly armed with short weapons, and standing also on lower ground, could make no impression. They were sore pressed, and Leopold already felt himself confident of victory. Then the heroism of Arnold von Winkelried, a native of Stans, changed the fortune of the day.* Clasping several of the spear heads in his arms, he made, as they pierced him, an opening for his comrades to attack, of which they speedily availed themselves, and hewed their way into the enemies' ranks. Now, in the fierce encounter, the knights, encumbered by the weight of their own armour, were obliged to give way. Of the Austrians 2,000 were said to have fallen, of whom 600 were knights; whilst of the Confederates only 120. Of these, fifty-one were from Lucerne,

* See chapter ix.

amongst them the mayor, Peter von Gundoldingen. Leopold himself fell whilst vainly endeavouring to stem the wild flight of his troops. On all sides now the Austrian possessions in Switzerland were attacked. Bern seized upon the Oberland. The men of Glarus, assisted by Schwyz, drove out the bailiff, and defeated the Austrians at Näfels. The Habsburgs had to abandon their possessions and consent to a peace, which in 1394 was extended for twenty years, and in 1412 for fifty years.

The victory of Sempach had destroyed the supremacy of Austria and assured the freedom of the Confederates. They had by this time succeeded in freeing themselves from most of the dues they owed to temporal or ecclesiastical lords; thus Uri redeemed the dues from Wettingen and Frauenmünster, Schwyz those from Einsiedeln and Kappel and Engelberg. By degrees also they succeeded in obtaining for themselves the privileges which the emperors retained, such as the higher criminal jurisdiction, right of coining, etc. The power of the nobility was broken, and the struggle of the peasants for liberty had succeeded here, when it had failed elsewhere. This success was due not only to the native valour and inborn military genius of the Confederates, but to the union of the lands (country districts) with the towns, a union unknown elsewhere in Europe. Largely also to the position of the Three Lands, which were the kernel of the whole, and were very difficult to attack. Their position being now secured, they began to think of strengthening and enlarging their own possessions. The Three Lands, and Uri in particular, were much interested in the commercial intercourse with Italy over the St. Gotthard Pass, which was opened to traffic in the course of the thirteenth century.* Their efforts in this direction resulted in the protectorate of Urseren in 1410, and the conquest of the Val Leventina in 1440, which became a subject land of Canton Uri. As soon as they were safe from outward

* For a fuller account of this see chapter xvii.

attack, they were disturbed by internal dissensions, which ended in a civil war between Zürich and Schwyz, aided by the other two Lands, about the inheritance of the Count of Toggenburg (d. 1436). In the dispute between the widow and her relations, Zürich sided with the former, and Schwyz with the latter. When in 1437 the suit was decided in favour of the relations, these gave to Schwyz the March on the Zürich Lake; sold Utznach; and mortgaged, in 1438, Wesen, Windegg, and Gaster to Schwyz and Glarus. Schwyz got all, and Zürich nothing. In the war which ensued, Zürich was defeated in the plain of the Sihl, the town itself narrowly escaped capture, and the whole south side of the Lake of Zürich fell into the hands of the Lands. These were restored in 1450 except the Upper Höfe.* The intrigues of Louis XI. of France next involved the Confederation in war with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and in the memorable battles of Grandson, Morat, and Nancy, the men of the Lands played a valiant part. The fame of the Swiss troops was spread throughout Europe, and their soldiers were eargerly sought after. This mercenary service was approved of by the Forest Cantons, though opposed by the towns.

Another cause of internal dissention was the admission of new members to the Confederation. Thus, in 1477, when Zürich, Bern, and Lucerne, wished to add Fribourg and Soleure, the Three Lands opposed, fearing a diminution of their own influence. They were particularly angry with Lucerne, which they accused of violating the League of 1291. When the question was discussed at the Parliament at Stans, in 1481, the dispute was so violent that the deputies were about to separate, when the earnest exhortation of Nicholas von der Flüe,† whether given in person or not, succeeded in reconciling the differences, and the two towns were admitted, though with

* The Upper Höfe (farms or estates) were Wollerau, Pfäffikon, Hurden, and Ufenau, on the Lake of Zürich.

† See chapter x.

limitations. The question of foreign enlistment led to a bitter quarrel between Zürich and Lucerne. Hans Waldmann, who was all-powerful in Zürich, was opposed to mercenary service, whilst Frischaus Theiling, a favourite soldier of fortune in Lucerne, was a warm partisan. Theiling was at last seized in Zürich and executed by Waldmann's orders, and this cruel act contributed greatly to Waldmann's fall in 1489, when attacked by the nobles and the country party. After the Swiss mercenaries had taken part in many of the great battles in the early part of the sixteenth century, their loss at the defeat of Marignano (September 13–14, 1515) was so great that the Confederation withdrew from taking an active part in European wars, though foreign powers, who lavished much money for that purpose, were still allowed to levy troops in various cantons.

When the movement of the religious reformation spread from Germany into Switzerland, Zwingli, at Zürich, advocated along with it also a political reformation, and insisted on the abolition of mercenary service. This condition at once arrayed the Forest Cantons against him. One reformation hindered the other. There was continual friction between the parties in the subject lands, which were alternately under the management of either, especially in Thurgau. This at last culminated in war, which in the first instance was terminated without a contest by the armistice of Kappel (June, 1529), and in the second by the complete victory of the Catholic Cantons at Kappel in October, 1531, in which Zwingli himself fell. The peace which followed, however, assured toleration even in the common subject lands. But in spite of this the religious feelings of both parties became more bitter. The Confederation was divided into two hostile camps. Whilst the Reformed Cantons sought to strengthen themselves by alliances with Holland and England, the Catholic Cantons instituted a counter reformation, promoted by Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan. In 1586 they formed a league, offensive and

defensive, called, from its chief promoter, the Borromean or Golden League, to maintain the Catholic faith, and formed alliances with Pope Sixtus V. and Philip II. of Spain. Meanwhile other troubles came upon the town cantons. The councils in the towns had by degrees grown to consider themselves absolute lords of the lower classes of the citizens, and of the peasants outside, without exception. Taxes were levied at their pleasure over the whole district. The country people in particular were aggrieved at a tax they had to pay for driving cattle on to pasture and for bringing articles of produce to market; but above all by repeated debasements of the coinage, which sometimes at a stroke reduced their savings by 25 or 50 per cent. In 1570 there was a rising against these oppressions at Lucerne, and in 1652 a much more serious one, commencing in the Entlebuch. The people here had had frequent conflicts with their lords at Lucerne. They asked for assistance in their difficulties, and for the removal of various restrictions on manufactures, trade, and commerce. These were rejected January 8th, 1653, and the subjects in Entlebuch were declared to be rebellious grumblers, who deserved severe chastisement. The peasants assembled at Langnau and advanced against Lucerne, but the Government appealed to the other cantons, who, by the terms of their agreement, were bound to help, and the peasants (March 18th, 1653) had to consent to an armistice. The Federal Diet caused fresh irritation by declaring the grievances quite unfounded. The peasants of Entlebuch, in common with those of Bern, Soleure, and Basel, held a Landsgemeinde, at Sumiswald, and agreed to act together and compel the Government to redress their grievances. These were so great that religious differences were forgotten. Catholics and Protestants acted together, like their forefathers in the first league against the Habsburgs. Moderate as were their demands they were disregarded by the Diet, which determined to repress the

movement everywhere by force. Everywhere the peasants had to yield before the regular troops. In Entlebuch the leaders of the revolt, Leuenberger and Schybi, were executed, and the oppression of the Government, and the downtrodden position of the peasants and the subject lands, were indefinitely prolonged.

The next disturbance in which the Forest Cantons were involved was due to religious differences. When Bern and Zürich wished to reform the Federal constitution, and effect a closer union between the cantons, this was hindered by the old cantons, which feared a limitation of their former privileges. In their jealousy the Catholic Cantons, in violation of their engagements, renewed the Borromean League, and formed (1655) an alliance with France, and the Reformed Cantons replied to this by allying themselves with Holland and England. In this state of tension a little matter, the flight from Arth (Schwyz) of some Protestant families, and the harsh measures adopted towards them by the cantons, led to a war. Whilst the troops of Zürich fruitlessly besieged Rapperschwyl, the Bernese were surprised and defeated at Vilmergen in Aargau, January 23rd, 1656. The neutral cantons effected an armistice, but the Catholic Cantons obtained the privilege of expelling all members who did not conform to their way of thinking. The state of irritation was maintained continually by difficulties in the subject lands. The abbots of the Convent of St. Gall, whose district was, as an allied district, under the protection of Schwyz and Lucerne, endeavoured to force the Catholic religion on the inhabitants of the Toggenburg, who were supported by Zürich and Bern. The forces of Bern and the Catholic Cantons again encountered at Vilmergen, July 25th, 1712; but this time the Reformed party were victorious. The Catholic Cantons were deprived of all share in the government of Baden, and the lower part of the free bailiwicks, in which they were replaced by Bern. The supremacy obtained by the Catholics in 1656 was transferred to Bern

and Zürich; but the divisions in the Confederation became still more embittered.

After the first Vilmergen war the whole thirteen cantons had renewed the treaty with France. In return for certain concessions in respect of trade, &c., and a pension of 3,000 francs per year to each canton, besides pay for the troops, the Confederation undertook to supply France with a number of troops, varying from 6,000 to 16,000. The Confederation wished themselves to observe a neutral attitude; and when Louis XIV. (1666–1668) violated this agreement by entering Franche Comté, which was, according to treaty, neutral territory, the danger moved them to withdraw their mercenaries, and to think of forming a force of 40,000 men to preserve their neutrality. But the influence of French gold soon effected a change. The armies of the French and the allies were still composed largely of Swiss mercenaries; as many as 35,000 serving under Louis XIV. in his last war in the Palatinate (1688–1697).

The bitter feeling between Protestants and Catholics continued during the first half of the eighteenth century. The Catholics were constantly thinking how to regain what they had lost; and each regarded the other, not as fellow-countrymen, but as heretics. The efforts of patriotic citizens in some degree softened this bitterness, and material progress and increased prosperity diminished the love of foreign enlistment. But the oppression of the ruling families in the towns became greater. In Lucerne the struggle for power lay between the families of Meyer and Schumacher. Placidus Schumacher espoused the cause of the citizens, was accused of high treason, and executed in 1764. His adversary, Valentine Meyer (called the divine), was in turn accused of writing against the Catholic Church, and banished for fifteen years. But in no case were the lower classes benefited. They were even forbidden to discuss the decrees issued by their superiors. The old cantons were meanwhile divided upon the burning question of military

service. There were two parties in Canton Schwyz—the "hard" or Liberal party, who opposed, and the "soft" or Conservative, who favoured it; and in the struggle the influence of the Reding family was for a time destroyed.* The aristocratic rulers were attacked everywhere; not only by the oppressed citizens, but by the subject lands. When the French Revolution broke out, both welcomed it with enthusiasm.

In 1797–8 the French imposed a new constitution on Switzerland. The subject lands were freed, and formed into nine new cantons. The Three Lands (except the March,† which was added to Canton Linth) were formed into a single canton, called the Waldstätte. Lucerne remained unaltered. Whilst the subject lands and a part of the old cantons readily accepted the change, the Three Lands opposed it. They saw that the new constitution, by freeing the subject lands, had deprived them of all their privileges. When the first Parliament was summoned, only ten cantons (Lucerne amongst them) sent deputies, mostly from west Switzerland. The eastern cantons complied, on being threatened, but the Three Lands refused. Schwyz and Uri, after a brave resistance, under Reding,‡ at Rothenthurm, capitulated, and gave in their adherence to the Helvetic constitution, but Nidwald persisted in their refusal, and their desperate resistance was terminated by the massacre of Stans. Switzerland in 1799 became the theatre of war, and parts of it, Uri in particular, were traversed many times by the hostile armies, and the unfortunate inhabitants ascribed all their sufferings to the new constitution. After repeated struggles between the Centralists and Federalists, the latter of whom wished the old cantonal sovereignty to be restored, Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul, proposed the Act of

* See chapter iii. † See chapter xv.

‡ The March (not to be confounded with the Urnerboden) included the Wäggithal and the villages of Wangen, Nuolen, Lachen, &c., on the upper Lake of Zürich. Here, in old times, was the border (March) between Rhaetia and Helvetia.

Mediation in 1803. By this the thirteen old cantons were restored, and ten new ones were formed out of the allied (*zugewandte*) and subject lands. The sovereign power of the old cantons was restored within their limits, and their constitutions were drawn on the old lines; whilst those of the new cantons were drawn on more liberal lines. But though this arrangement ensured peace for a few years, it satisfied neither party. The old cantons even wished the new to revert to the position of subject lands. In 1815 the cantons were arranged as at present, Geneva, Neuchâtel, and Wallis being added. Lucerne reverted to the old Patriciate form of government. The liberty of the press was restricted. The members of the council elected from the town far out-numbered those from the rest of the canton. So in Canton Schwyz the outer districts (March, Einsiedeln, Pfäffikon, Küssnacht, Gersau) were unfairly treated. In 1829 Edward and Casimir Pfyffer succeeded in overthrowing the aristocratic party in Lucerne, diminished the power of the Klein Rath, and separated the judicial and executive functions. The French revolution of 1830 raised a commotion over all Switzerland; Unterwalden and Uri alone remained unmoved. The clerical party were strong enough here to repress all desire for change.

In 1832 seven cantons, one of which was Lucerne, formed a union (Siebner Concordat) to effect a revision of the Federal Constitution. Soon after the outer districts of Canton Schwyz separated themselves from the old Land Schwyz (as Basel Land had from Basel), and their action was approved by the Federal Parliament. Upon this deputies from the Three Lands, Basel, Neuenburg, and Wallis, met at Sarnen, protested against the admission of deputies from Basel (Land) and outer Schwyz, and held a separate Parliament at Schwyz, thus forming a separate league (Sonderbund). Colonel Ab Iberg was sent to seize Küssnacht, in order to coerce the outer districts. This proceeding was forcibly repressed by the Federal authorities; most of the deputies of the Sarnenbund returned to their places

in the Assembly, and the two parts of Canton Schwyz were again united.

The struggle, however, between the opposite parties in this canton still continued, and was still further embittered by a quarrel about the use of the Allmend (Horn and Klauen Streit*), and in 1838 at the Landsgemeinde the scenes of violence were such that Lucerne (then the presiding canton) had to interfere by force. In Lucerne at this time a Conservative party was in power, which withdrew from the Siebner Concordat. In Aargau the conflict of parties was so violent that the Liberals, on coming into power in 1840, determined to abolish the ecclesiastical foundations, which had been active (Muri especially) in supporting the party of reaction. This high-handed proceeding, which the Parliament declared to be unconstitutional, was, however, approved by most of the Reformed Cantons. It raised a cry of indignation through the Catholic Cantons, and the four Forest Cantons, along with Zug, Freiburg, and Wallis, formed a separate league (Sonderbund) in September, 1843, to defend the Catholic faith. These were almost the same as had formed the Borromean League in 1586. In 1844 the Jesuits were recalled to Lucerne. An attempt made by the Liberals to expel them, assisted by volunteers from Aargau failed, and the Ultramontanes in Lucerne, with Leu and Siegwart-Müller at their head, commenced a reign of terror. Numerous arrests were made, and Dr. Steiger, the head of the Liberal party, was condemned to death, but was fortunately able to effect his escape to Zürich. Fresh fuel was added to the fire by the murder of Joseph Leu in 1845 by a fanatic who thought to benefit the Liberal cause. Hundreds of arrests were made. At last, as the seven cantons disregarded all the warnings of the Federal Parliament to dissolve the Sonderbund, both parties prepared for war. The Sonderbund mustered an army of 80,000 men, of whom only 30,000 were regular troops, with

* See chapter vi.

74 guns, under the command of General Salis Soglio. The Reformed Cantons mustered 100,000 men, of whom about one-half were regular troops, with 172 guns. Freiburg was first attacked, and yielded without much resistance on November 14. On November 22 Zug also yielded, and the Federal army now advanced from all sides upon Lucerne, where the main strength of the Sonderbund army was concentrated. The latter were defeated (November 23) at Honau and Gislikon on the borders of Lucerne and Aargau, and Lucerne was entered November 24. The members of the Sonderbund Government fled to Uri, and the other cantons capitulated. The Jesuits were expelled, and Liberal Governments formed everywhere. A money indemnity of 5,000,000 francs was imposed on the Sonderbund cantons, of which nearly half was to come from Lucerne, though a remission of 1,000,000 francs was afterwards made. By the new Constitution the independent authority of the cantons was restricted in favour of a strong central government. This was accepted, in September, 1848, by a large majority of the cantons and of the population. It was accepted by 15½ cantons and 170,000 votes, and rejected by 6½ cantons and 72,000 votes. In the latter all the Sonderbund cantons were included except Freiburg. The war was thus terminated, but the remembrance of the defeat long rankled in the minds of the conquered. How deeply we may see in the refusal of Dr. Philip Anton Segesser, one of the most respected and constant members of the Conservative party (and then Mayor of Lucerne), to attend the unveiling in Geneva of an equestrian statue of General Dufour, because Dufour's name was for ever associated with the memory of that fatal day.

Since the Sonderbund War, Switzerland has been disturbed by no serious outbreak. In the disturbances which convulsed Europe after 1848, she was able to remain neutral. In 1856 a dispute with the King of Prussia, who claimed sovereign rights over Neuchâtel, nearly led to a war, which was averted

by the mediation of Napoleon III. The quarrels of Liberals and Ultramontanes have had to account for some difficulties, such as that in Tessin in 1890. But these have not affected the Forest Cantons, which are almost exclusively Catholic. If they have not participated to the same extent as other parts of Switzerland in the great advances which have taken place in national life, in trade and manufactures, in material and moral improvement, they have to a greater extent than any other shared in the influx of prosperity, produced by the fashion which brings annually an increasing flow of tourists to visit the most beautiful scenes in Europe. And although in some way, now and then the effect of this influx is demoralizing, still behind there is no lack of patriotic feeling, and a real sense of the inheritance which the Swiss have received from their forefathers. Such a feeling is shown by the purchase in 1861 of the Grütli, the legendary scene of the meeting of the first Confederates; by the erection in the same year of the memorial to Winkelried at Stans, both memorials of grand traditions of heroic deeds; by the national help which was rendered to Glarus, after the fire of 1861, to Elm and to Zug after the catastrophes of 1881 and 1887; by the celebration of the sixth centenary of the Eternal League in 1891. The Swiss still feel that in the present day, when the struggle is in the arts of peace, as it formerly was in war, the great element necessary for success is union.

NOTE TO PAGE 15.—Henry VII., born 1212, was appointed, by his father Frederick II., Vicar-General of the Empire in 1220. In the same year he was elected King of the Romans, and was crowned May 8th, 1222. He granted the charter to Uri to obtain their support in a scheme of rebellion against his father. In 1235 his followers deserted him, and he died in prison in 1242.

CHAPTER III.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

WHEN the Three Lands first appear in history, we find the internal administration of each managed by a general assembly called Landsgemeinde. The first of which there is any record was held at Schwyz, in 1294. But the institution was probably the growth of centuries. The occasion of the above assembly, as well as of the memorable one of 1314, was the necessity of resisting the encroachments of the Abbots of Einsiedeln. There was a feud of long standing about their boundaries. Repeated decisions of the emperors, adverse to Schwyz in this respect, were given, as by Henry V., in 1111, and by Conrad III., in 1144. But the men of Schwyz still persisted in their quarrel with the abbey, and in the meeting of 1314 determined to attack the convent.

There is no doubt that similar general assemblies existed in Uri and Unterwalden. The text of the treaty of 1291 shows that it was approved by the popular assemblies of each land. They had at first not so much power as afterwards. They could not appoint their own chief magistrate (Landamman). His appointment rested with the bailiff (Vogt), who was generally a noble appointed by the emperor. In Schwyz the Landamman was almost uniformly a man of note in the country; and to this fact, and to the preponderance of freemen among the inhabitants, is due the leading position which Schwyz assumed in the struggle for liberty. The constitution in the Lands was not reduced to writing, but

rested upon generally-acknowledged principles. The sovereign power lay in the Landsgemeinde. This assembly in Schwyz was composed of all male inhabitants over sixteen years of age. It met once a year, usually on the last Sunday of April, and on other occasions when specially summoned. At its opening all repeated after the Landamman five Paters, five Aves, and five Credos. All then took the oath after him, bareheaded, and with the right hand held up. The Landamman was then elected, generally for two years; and then the deputy Landamman, the representative to the Federal Parliament (usually the Landamman himself), and other cantonal officers.

The cantonal council (Landrath) which had the general management of affairs, was composed of the present and preceding Landamman, the deputy Landamman, the captain of the canton (Landeshauptman), and sixteen others, elected by the different divisions of the canton. In this council father and son could not sit together, nor more than two of the same family from any one quarter. The voting for all these appointments at the Landsgemeinde was by holding up the right hand. The Landamman declared the result, and in doubtful cases more than one vote was taken; but the votes were seldom counted. The Landrath met generally three times a week.

There were also two other councils, called the "double" and the "triple" council, formed by each member of the Landrath bringing with him one or two respectable friends. The former met a fortnight after the Landsgemeinde, and took cognizance of criminal offences and other breaches of the peace. The latter, twice a year before and after the meeting of the Federal Parliament, in the first case to give the deputy his instructions, and in the second to hear his report. At the Landsgemeinde, when the elections were over, formerly any citizen might raise a discussion on any subject; but this liberty had soon to be curtailed, and all

questions had to be submitted to the Landrath some time before.

There were also three other courts.

1. The court of nine (Neunergericht), presided over by the Landamman, in which civil cases were heard. This court sat once a year.

2. The court of seven (Siebnergericht), presided over by the head constable (Landesweibel, who in some cantons, *e.g.* Nidwald, is the deputy Landamman). This court met nine times in the year, from September to May, and took cognizance of sales, debts, when over fifty gulden, &c.

The Landrath could revise the decisions of these two courts.

3. The street police court (Gassengericht), composed of the head constable and seven others. It was a kind of small debts court. Any citizen could summon a meeting of this court by depositing a certain sum.

At these general assemblies, as time went on, difficulties arose about the subjects to be discussed and the manner of introducing them. The people wished to make propositions without restriction. The authorities wished all subjects to be first laid before them. Sometimes certain subjects were altogether forbidden; fines and other punishments were inflicted on those who broke the rule. There were continual struggles on this matter at the Landsgemeinde of all three Lands, especially in Nidwald, at the end of the seventeenth century. Many regulations were made to preserve order; thus at Glarus the sale of wine was forbidden during the meeting; at Schwyz they were forbidden to bring sticks. Formerly the Landamman only could call an extraordinary Landsgemeinde: the people wanted this power themselves. In Schwyz, in 1575, fifteen citizens could call a meeting; in 1712 this number was reduced to seven. So also in Uri, but the request must be approved by the Landrath. The Landsgemeinde exercised both judicial and legislative functions

until the middle of the sixteenth century, when they were separated.

This general assembly, whilst arrogating to itself sovereign power, and fulminating severe penalties against all who should deny it, in reality soon ceased to hold in its hands anything but the elective power. All real authority passed into the hands of the council whom the Landsgemeinde appointed. This council was bound to submit all important business to the Landsgemeinde; but often no reference was made to it. We find that the time of these assemblies after electing their officers was often wasted in discussion, without any (or very slight) attempt at effectual legislation. It is plain that such an assembly as the Landsgemeinde could only work when matters on the whole went smoothly. If storms were few and far between, the institution might survive; if they were frequent, it must perish. In Uri and Unterwalden it still exists; in Schwyz, after the disorders of 1833–1838 and 1847, it has passed away.

Causes of disturbance became more frequent as time went on. With the subject lands came the appointments to the envied position of ruling bailiffs. With the victories they won their military renown was spread abroad, and foreign states lavished their gold to obtain the services of Swiss troops. This lasted long after the Swiss cantons as a whole ceased to take part in European wars. The separate cantons still made agreements to supply soldiers to foreign states, and these agreements (Capitulations) led to frequent conflicts in the Landsgemeinde. Among the most remarkable of these was the struggle which took place in 1763, in Canton Schwyz, between the two parties called the "hard" and the "soft" respectively—Liberal and Conservative. The former being in a majority in the National Assembly, and opposing the enlistment of troops for foreign service, had absolutely forbidden it. It was discovered that the wife of General Nazar von Reding (one of the "soft" party) was secretly enrolling recruits. A

special meeting of the Landsgemeinde was summoned, and the General's wife, in spite of an eloquent defence, was condemned to pay a fine of 30 batzen (3 frcs.) to each of the citizens present at the meeting. At the usual meeting of the Landsgemeinde, in 1764, the two chiefs of the "soft" party —General Reding (deputy Landamman) and the ex-Landamman Ceberg—were both excluded from the Council for life. The General, who was in service at Paris, appeared two days later, was twice brought before the meeting, compelled to ask for pardon, and to offer to pay each citizen a thaler (3 frcs.). On a second accusation being brought against these two chiefs, they were again sentenced each to pay to each citizen present at the meeting a gulden, and a fine of 100 ducats was ordered to be paid by any person who should propose their restoration. Next year (1765) a similar charge was brought against the ruling Landamman (again named Reding) and his standard-bearer Jütz. Reding declared that the accusations against him were false, but the angry crowd rushed upon them, and he would have been torn in pieces, but for the intervention of a few brave men. The assembly declined to hear further evidence, declared them traitors to their country, and condemned each of the accused to pay a thaler to each citizen present at each sitting. These fines were no light matter, for the meetings of the Landsgemeinde sometimes exceeded 20 in number, and as many as 3,000 citizens were present at a sitting. This took place in March. In April the ordinary Landsgemeinde met, and sat for a whole month. A committee of enquiry was formed to find out all who had spoken against the expressed opinion of the people. Penalties were inflicted in shoals. Suddenly the popular mind changed, the meeting declared they ought to live like brothers, and quashed the proceedings against all the offenders except General Reding. He had taken refuge in the adjoining Canton of Uri, and in his absence was condemned to a fine of one thaler, and to the loss of his civic

rights. Strange to say, a similar fine was inflicted by the same assembly on the leader of the opposite (the "hard") party, who suddenly fell into disgrace. The assembly then passed a resolution condemning to severe penalties any one who should call in question the propriety of any of their judgments. Still more strange, six years later they chose the same General Reding, so repeatedly fined and punished, first for statthalter, and then Landamman!

The canvassing and bribery, in spite of prohibitions, continued. The law was evaded by extravagant distributions on public and private festivals, as at baptisms and weddings. In Schwyz, at the end of the 17th century, a double maximum was fixed for these occasions—the higher sum was permitted to be spent generally, the lower for a certain time preceding the meeting of the Landsgemeinde. The bribery took place not merely about the election of bailiffs, but also about those to public offices, since foreign powers, anxious to obtain troops, bribed the magistrates largely.

On the advent of the Helvetic Republic, in 1798, the three Lands determined to oppose it by force. Schwyz and Uri, after a brave resistance, submitted; but Nidwald was more obstinate, and fought until crushed by superior force in the massacre of Stans. The Landsgemeinde was abolished, but renewed in 1803. In 1814, after the fall of Napoleon, the Lands wished to revert to the old state of things and have subject lands. Schwyz submitted unwillingly, but Nidwald again was obstinate, and only gave way on the entrance of the Federal troops. This obstinacy cost her the loss of Engelberg, which was now assigned to the more obedient Obwald. The next conflict in Schwyz arose from the discontent of the outer districts, which were very inadequately represented in the Landsgemeinde. Obtaining no redress, they formed themselves (in 1832) into a separate half-canton. The old Land Schwyz attempted in 1833 to coerce the outer districts, but the Federal Government intervened, and imposed a new

constitution on the canton. The two half-cantons were again united, but the authority of the Landsgemeinde was restricted, and it was henceforward to be held at Rothenthurm, a more central position, half-way between Schwyz and Einsiedeln, and was to meet only once in two years. In the years 1834–1838 there were frequent disputes in the Landsgemeinde about the Allmend. This was known as the battle of the horns and hoofs (Horn and Klauen Streit), *i.e.*, between the richer peasants owning cows and the poorer having only sheep or goats. The contest was so violent as to recall the struggle of the preceding century between the "hard" and the "soft." The "horn" party attacked the "hoof" party, and drove them off the field, grievously maltreating their chief—Reding. The latter party refused to attend further meetings, and invoked the aid of the Confederation. A meeting of the Landsgemeinde was summoned, at which five Federal commissioners were present, who declared that every one was free to vote as he chose, but that order must be maintained. The "horn" party triumphed, but by a narrow majority. The Landsgemeinde of Schwyz, disturbed by these repeated shocks, lasted yet a few years.

In 1843 Schwyz, with the other Catholic Cantons, formed the Sonderbund. When the Landsgemeinde met on September 26th, 1847, a vote was carried, almost unanimously, to support the Cantonal government in their resistance to the Federal authorities; but, after the capture of Lucerne, on November 24th, Schwyz, with the other cantons, was obliged to capitulate. Another Landsgemeinde was held December 15th, at which Schwyz was declared free from all connection with the Sonderbund, and the expulsion of the Jesuits was decreed. In the new constitution which was framed it was unanimously agreed to abolish the Landsgemeinde. Rothenthurn, the most central point, was too distant from the remote parts of the canton. Citizens had to travel five, six, and even nine leagues in order to be present. The poorer citizens had to be assisted, and

elections too frequently depended upon the length of the purse. Somewhat against the will of the people, who clung to old traditions, the general assembly was replaced by district assemblies. The old amphitheatre at Ibach, which had seen the cantonal assemblies for so many centuries, was henceforward to witness only the meetings of the local district of Schwyz, whose highest powers might be to grant or refuse a subvention to some industrial undertaking.

In spite of the Sonderbund the Landsgemeinde of Unterwalden and Uri has survived.

Uri perhaps, of the old cantons, has held on most strongly to forms and ceremonies. The recollection of their past glories has contributed to this. On the first Sunday in May the procession starts from Altdorf. First the military music; then men in the old Uri costume of black and yellow, bearing the cantonal emblems, the bull's horns set in silver, others bearing the archives, and in a black and yellow bag the seal and keys of office; the grand usher (gross weibel), in a black and yellow toga, bearing the staff with the globe of sovereignty, and above it the apple pierced with Tell's arrow; the magistrates in black with silk cloaks and swords; the Landamman and members of the council on horseback, and beside each horse a servant. Before the Revolution these last had swords and halberts. The council now arrive in carriages, as some were not too steady on horseback. At the sacred spot a crowd awaits them. The Landamman and officials take their places in the inner ring. On the table before him are placed the bull's horns, the insignia of office, &c. The Landamman administers the oath. Then the "seven family" propositions are laid before the assembly (who are already aware of them), and are accepted or rejected. Then the Landamman, leaning on the sword of office, surveys the course of events since their last meeting. He has been known even to enlarge on European politics, and to draw comparisons favourable to Uri. Then

laying the sword on the table he retires amongst the former chief magistrates. If he has been only one year in office the "Clerk of the Canton" asks the eldest ex-Landamman present to nominate the new one, in which case the present one is re-elected; otherwise the retiring Landamman nominates his successor. The usual elections and other business are then transacted, and the procession returns to Altdorf.

In Uri a meeting is held on St. Mark's day (April 25th) to fix the day for the Landsgemeinde, and also the day when the cattle are to go up to the alps or pastures.

Another meeting is also held on Ascension-day, to settle the allotment of garden ground on the Allmend, of pieces of woodland to be cleared, &c.

Extraordinary meetings of the Landsgemeinde may be summoned by 150 electors, or by the Cantonal Council. This consists of the Landamman and a body of members, one for each 400 inhabitants. It meets three times in the year. The governing body is composed of a president, vice-president, and five others, of whom not more than three must come from any one commune. This meets once a week. The chief civil court consists of a president, vice-president, seven members, and as many substitutes. The criminal court consists of a president, vice-president, five members, and as many substitutes. There are separate district councils for Uri and Urseren. In Nidwald and Obwald the Landsgemeinde meets on the last Sunday in April. The Cantonal Council in Nidwald consists of a number of members, one for every two hundred and fifty inhabitants. This meets four times a year. The governing body consists of eleven members, and meets once a week. There is a superior civil court, composed of a president, vice-president, nine members, and three substitutes; a criminal court, consisting of the three chief members of the cantonal court, eight members of the cantonal council, and three substitutes; a cantonal court, consisting of a president, vice-president, five members, and two substitutes. This is a court of appeal in civil cases.

Each local district has separate assemblies for church matters, education, poor, &c.

In Obwald the Cantonal Council consists of eighty members, one for each one hundred and sixty-five inhabitants. It meets six times a year. The governing body consists of seven members, and meets once a week. The six old communes (Obwald proper) have a civil court of seven members. Engelberg has one of five members, and two substitutes. There is a criminal court of seven members, with two substitutes. The president and the first four members of this form a police court. The superior court is composed of nine members and four substitutes. In capital cases all of these must be present, and not less than nine must confirm the sentence.

In Uri and Obwald electors become qualified to vote and to hold office at the age of twenty. In Nidwald they become qualified to vote at eighteen years of age, and can hold office at twenty. The different offices must be filled by the persons appointed. Refusal was formerly punished by banishment. In Schwyz a fine not exceeding 400 francs is inflicted. Any elector is entitled to lay a proposition before the Landsgemeinde, but it must be submitted to and approved by the Cantonal Council at least one month previously.

In Canton Schwyz each six hundred inhabitants return a representative to the Cantonal Council for four years. Half of the council retire every two years, but may be re-elected. The council appoints the governing body and the members of the other courts. There is a cantonal (civil) court of nine members and nine substitutes, and a criminal court of five members and five substitutes.

The latest constitution of Uri dates from 1888; those of the two half cantons in Unterwalden date from 1867 and 1877; that of Schwyz from 1876. That of Nidwald shows a great advance upon 1832, though not in itself very forward. The liberty of the press is guaranteed, but only within the limits of truth, morality, and religion. In 1877 a certain amount of toleration was allowed to other forms of belief.

In 1832 neither civil nor religious liberty, nor freedom of the press, are spoken of; but the rights of alternate precedence of each half canton are insisted on, as well as the double citizenship of families naturalised in Nidwald before 1563, and in Obwald before 1570.

The general assemblies were held from time immemorial in each canton in a particular spot.

In Uri the electors meet in the meadow of Bozlingen in Gand, near the village of Schaddorf (just south of Altdorf). On the east is a mighty wall of rock crowned by pine woods; on the west are the outliers of the Uri Rothstock, the Schlossberg, and the Spannort.

As the traveller passes from Schwyz to Brunnen, near the old covered bridge over the Muotta, a few paces to the left below the dyke of the river is the scene of the meetings of the Landsgemeinde of Schwyz. It rises from the centre to the circumference, and is surrounded by a wall. Four passages radiate from the centre, where was placed the tribunal of the Landamman. This was used until 1833, when the meetings were transferred to Rothenthurm as more central. District meetings are still held in the old place, but no important business is transacted.

In Obwald the meeting is held on the Landenberg near Sarnen. Here is a sort of natural terrace on the slopes. On this a daïs is arranged for the Landamman, the magistrates and clergy. Round this, and within easy reach of the voice, are seated the electors. The slopes outside are crowded with the rest of the population. The Landsgemeinde of Nidwald meets in a meadow near Wyl, twenty minutes east of Stans, near the river Aa. It is a kind of rustic forum surrounded by a broad wall, overhung by the interlacing branches of ancient lindens. The tribune is of solid masonry. The electors sit on benches arranged in squares; whilst the curious sight-seers look on from the top of the wall.

The meetings of Uri and Unterwalden have seldom witnessed

violent scenes like those of Schwyz. There are hardly parties in the ordinary sense. At most they differ in their ideas of the extent of submission to be paid to the clergy.

In Lucerne, up to 1291, the town and the sixteen properties (Dinghöfe) attached to it were under the Abbots of Murbach. The Abbot was Lord of the Manor, and decided questions of inheritance and property. The bailiff (vogt) had power in the lesser criminal cases, the greater were decided by a noble specially sent by the Emperor to hold the court. About 1200 A.D., the town was allowed to have a council to look after its own business. This council had also part of the bailiff's authority in criminal cases. It consisted of eighteen members, who were renewed every six months on St. John's day (June 24th and December 27th.) The Abbey of Murbach was represented in Lucerne by an amman (steward), who sat in the council. This consisted really of thirty-six members, since the eighteen retiring members could sit and vote until the next election. After 1273 the Emperor Rudolf gave various privileges to the town, allowing them to make their own laws, and to hold imperial fiefs. In 1291 the Abbot Berchtold von Falkenstein sold all his rights in Lucerne and Unterwalden to the Emperor Rudolf. Lucerne strove in vain against this change of masters. However, on Rudolf's death in the same year, his son, Albrecht, in 1292 confirmed to the men of Lucerne their former privileges. A mayor (Schultheiss) appointed by the duke was placed over the town, and had a seat in the council. After a while the retiring members of the council were permitted to choose the next eighteen, and the council was allowed to elect its own mayor, whom, however, the bailiff of Lucerne, appointed by the Habsburgs, must approve. After 1332 a larger council of 300 members was formed, which soon was reduced to 100. New members were chosen by the council of thirty-six and the hundred together.

A kind of Landsgemeinde appears to have been held twice a year on St. John's day, before which important business was

brought. But the proceedings at these meetings soon became purely formal. The Landsgemeinde first lost the legislative power, and gradually other privileges, until at last all was in the hands of the council, and on the St. John's days nothing was done but to introduce the new members of the council to the people, to read the constitution, and to administer the oath.

When Lucerne was freed from the rule of the Habsburgs, she was still connected with the Emperors. In 1381 the Emperor Wenceslaus gave to the town the higher criminal jurisdiction over its own inhabitants, and in 1390 over foreigners. In 1418 the Emperor Sigismund, who favoured Lucerne greatly, allowed them to grant the temporal and ecclesiastical fiefs, which formerly were granted only by himself. About the end of this century the council of 100 was reduced to sixty-four, but the name "hundred" still retained, as the two councils together amounted to that number. They were henceforward called the little and the great council. The great council could deliberate alone, but only the two councils together could decide. The privilege of the retiring eighteen of the little council to choose their own successors was called the "ancient freedom" of Lucerne, but it soon degenerated into an abuse, since they re-elected themselves. The mayor was at first changed frequently, though the same man was sometimes mayor many years together. Thus Peter von Gundoldingen, who fell at the battle of Sempach, was mayor twenty-five years in succession. (1360–1384.) Towards the end of the sixteenth century two were appointed, who held office alternately, each for a year. They could not, however, be of the same family.

In 1479 the office of amman was abolished, but the Gemeinde still on St. John's day chose an amman, who, however, had no duties except to join the council in procession and banquets, and to distribute bread to the people.

The membership of the councils, at any rate of the little

council, was soon for life, for the retiring eighteen were re-elected. No fresh election took place unless a vacancy was made by death. Each of the two mayors chose the other. Members of the great council were elected for life. The offices soon became also hereditary—son succeeded father, and brother brother. In the great council the eldest son only could succeed, and he must be sixteen; but this was not requisite in the little council. An election only took place when the deceased had neither son nor brother. To the privileges of office for life, and devolution by inheritance, was soon added exclusiveness: admission to the council became more and more restricted. At first all citizens were eligible, but in 1421 a law was passed that he must have resided five years in the town. In 1463 that he must have been born in the town (or canton). In 1588 that only the children of new-made citizens were eligible. In 1682 that a new-made citizen must replace a wooden house by a stone one, and that his sons might then be eligible. In 1755 the privilege was restricted to grandchildren. In 1773 the number of families whose members were capable of election had dwindled to twenty-nine, and a resolution was now passed that no new family should be admitted until one of the twenty-nine was extinct. The new families were to be admitted in order of precedence. None but members of the twenty-nine families were capable of becoming provosts, canons, officers in the guards, or holders of any civil office. They divided themselves into nobility of three classes, and inflicted penalties on all who failed to address them by their proper titles. This family government lasted until the revolution of 1798.

The principal characteristics of the Constitution were: The great council was the chief legislative body, but none of its resolutions were valid till confirmed by the little council, which was the sole administrative and executive body. It acted also judicially in civil causes not exceeding 100 gulden, and in criminal cases short of capital offences. The two

mayors, their deputies, and the two eldest councillors of each eighteen, formed a privy council.

Father and son, or two brothers, could not sit together in either council, but one might sit in each.

There was a town court composed of a presiding judge, a clerk, and three members from each council.

Also a court of nine, composed of four members of the little council and three of the great, and of two other citizens. This court had the lesser criminal jurisdiction. Serious cases came before the united council.

The rural portion of the canton was divided into fourteen bailiwicks, of which some were administered by the great and others by the little council. All the bailiffs, except those of Willisau and Schloss Wykon, lived in Lucerne, and only appeared in their districts on the days when they were sworn into office. The lesser business was managed by deputy bailiffs. Each bailiwick had statutes of its own, and a court of six to eight sworn members.

Entlebuch had a council of forty, composed of thirty-eight sworn members, the head constable, and the clerk of the district. This council met every two years in Schupfheim. Business was administered by smaller courts in Entlebuch, Escholzmatt, and Schüpfheim. The courts had power to examine criminals, without applying torture, before reporting to Lucerne.

When Switzerland, in 1798, was threatened with a French invasion, the "hundred" declared the aristocratic government at an end, and proposed to revise the Constitution. Before this was done the French propounded a constitution for the whole of Switzerland. Under the central Government there was in Lucerne, as in the other cantons, a deputy-governor with full powers, a court of thirteen to try civil and criminal cases, and an administrative chamber of five for finance, trade, and agriculture, &c. In each sub-district of Lucerne was a court of nine members under a deputy. The people

in free assembly chose the deputies who were to represent them in the Central Council, which sat in Lucerne. The Helvetic Republic lasted for five years, amidst continual quarrels between the supporters of the new and the old order of things.

In 1803 Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul, interfered and proposed the Constitution called the Act of Mediation. This had no central authority, but a Parliament, to which the cantons sent deputies, who voted as directed. With this Parliament rested questions of war and peace, trade and commerce, &c. It met yearly in one of the chief towns of eight cantons, which were called Directorial Cantons. The mayor of the town became Landamman of Switzerland, was president of the Parliament, and in him was vested the executive power of the Confederation.

Lucerne had a greater council of sixty members, elected as follows. The canton was divided into five districts, and each district into four quarters. The electors were citizens of the canton, who had resided at least a year in their parish. If neither married nor a widower, he must be over thirty years of age; otherwise, over twenty; and he must have property in land or on mortgage to the value of 500 francs. Each quarter chose one member of the council, and sent in a list of four others from the other quarters, but not more than three from any one quarter. From the eighty thus nominated forty were chosen by lot, who, with the twenty directly elected, formed the council. For direct election a candidate must be over twenty-five years of age, and have property of the value of 3000 francs. To be nominated, he must be over thirty, and have property to the amount of 12,000 francs. Members were elected for life; but those directly elected might be recalled by their constituencies. Deputies to the Federal Parliament from cantons with more than 100,000 inhabitants had a double vote. There was a lesser council of fifteen, chosen out of the greater council for six years, one-third being

replaced every two years. The Federal Constitution guaranteed the freedom of the cantons against foreign powers. Cantons were not allowed to make treaties with each other or elsewhere. All in each canton were subject to the same imports. Swiss citizens had the right to settle in any canton.

In February, 1814, the government of Lucerne was overthrown. The new government formed a great council of 100 members, thirty from the town and thirty from the country, who then selected forty more equally from town and country. The town of Lucerne had a great advantage over the country. The great council elected nearly half its own members. The membership was for life. The lesser council, formed of thirty-six members of the great council, was almost absolute, being both judicial and administrative, and it elected its own members. All those were faults. The new constitution went, in fact, back to 1798.

In 1829 some improvements were effected. The judicial and administrative functions were separated, the latter being given to a council of nineteen, and the former to one of thirteen.

The disproportion of town to country members was somewhat remedied. Greater liberty was given to the press.

After the events of July, 1830, in France, many of the Swiss Cantons demanded a revision of the Constitution, and a return to the principles of 1798. Lucerne became a democratic republic. The chief power was placed in the hands of a council of 100 members, of whom eighteen were elected from the town, and sixty-two from the country districts. The eighty then chose twenty more, seven from the town, seven from the country, and six without restriction. The members were elected for six years, and might be re-elected; one third of them retired every two years. A lesser council of fifteen was chosen from the greater, also for six years, one third retiring every two years. The powers of the greater council were increased. It was free from the interference of the lesser

council. It had free power of legislation, could arrange taxation and expenditure, had the right of pardon in criminal cases, and gave instructions to the deputies to the Federal Parliament. A judicial court was formed out of thirteen members of the greater council. In disputes between the judicial and executive authorities, the greater council had to decide.

The Constitution provided for a revision every ten years, but before this period had elapsed a revision was demanded by the Conservative party. The council refused this as being too early, but the constituencies, on being referred to, decided for total revision by a large majority.

In the new Constitution the electoral districts were altered, and representation made proportional to numbers. The greater council was no longer allowed to fill itself up, &c., but in other respects it was reactionary. The clergy were practically made independent of the state. The "Placet" (assent of the state to ecclesiastical appointments) was abolished. Of the nine members of the Council of Education, four were to be clergy, who were not elected, but appointed by the ecclesiastical authorities. The freedom of the press was restricted within the old limits of "truth, morality, and religion," &c.

This Constitution was approved by the constituencies in the election—May, 1841—in which a great Conservative majority was returned. There were only nine Liberal members in the Council. The mayor was a Liberal, but was deposed in 1845, when he refused to vote for the execution of Dr. Jacob Robert Steiger. The clergy had entire charge of education, the Jesuits were recalled, and the Pope's Nuncio was again allowed to exercise spiritual authority. The interference with the press was such, that in the next six years fourteen Liberal newspapers were suppressed. The struggle of the Sonderbund followed. When this came to an end, in 1847, the constitution was again revised. The Roman Catholic religion was declared to be

the religion of the state, but not compulsory. The Jesuits and affiliated orders were prohibited. Education was in the hands of the clergy, under the supervision of the state. The four clerical members of the Council of Education were reduced to two, chosen, like the lay members, by the greater council.

In 1862 the Constitution was again revised. In this, toleration was extended to the known Christian confessions. The franchise was extended by abolishing the money qualification. The governing body was no longer a part of the greater council.

Revision was made more easy by the adoption of the "Referendum," providing that if between two meetings of the great council 5,000 electors should demand a revision, the question must be submitted to the constituencies.

Also by the adoption of the "Veto," providing that if within thirty days of the promulgation of a law 5,000 electors demand its repeal, the constituencies must be consulted on the point.

Revision must also take place if demanded by one third of the great council.

The qualification for the great council is the having attained the age of twenty-five years, and the possession of property to the value of 3,000 francs. Members remain in office four years, and are eligible for re-election.

The great council meets three times a year.

Extraordinary meetings are summoned by the governing body, by twelve members of the great council (twenty in 1875), or by the President.

The members of the great council receive six francs per day for their attendance, and fifty centimes per hour for their journeys to and from Lucerne.

In 1875 the canton was divided into fifty-three electoral districts (instead of twenty-five), returning 136 members to the great council, of whom Lucerne (town) has 16. The Veto was extended to money bills involving lump sums of 200,000

francs, or the yearly expenditure of 20,000 francs; also to the dissolution of the great council.

The death penalty was abolished in 1875, but again placed on the statute book in 1882.

The pay of members was dropped to four francs per day, and their journey money to forty centimes per hour.

In Canton Schwyz, if 2,000 electors or a majority of the council demand a revision, the question must be put to the constituencies.

In Uri, proposals for revision are to be laid before the Landsgemeinde.

In Unterwalden, Nidwald, if 800 electors make the demand, the Landsgemeinde must consider it.

In Obwald 500 electors may demand revision. Upon similar demands, in any of the Forest Cantons, laws passed by the Cantonal Councils must be referred to the electorate.

CHAPTER IV.

SUBJECT AND PROTECTED LANDS.

AFTER the Three Lands had secured their liberties by the victory of Morgarten, in 1315, and in conjunction with Lucerne by the victory of Sempach, in 1386, they at different times, by conquest or otherwise, obtained lands either in their immediate neighbourhood, which rounded off their possessions almost into the present form, or at a distance. But strong as was their own sense of liberty, and valiantly as they had fought in defence of it, they were far from allowing to those who came under their rule equal privileges with themselves. The people of Canton Schwyz, who bore the brunt in the battle of Morgarten, and who generally took the lead in the united action of the Three Lands, whilst full of the sense of their own importance, were said to think but little of the claims of their fellow Lands to liberty, and hardly at all of these of the other cantons. "The idea of making their conquests free never occurred to any of them. They simply substituted themselves for the preceding rulers, and gave the world the spectacle of a free people with subjects." These conquered districts were administered by bailiffs, who were appointed every two years, either by the one ruling canton, or by one of a number of cantons ruling in common; each of these making the appointment in turn. The bailiffs were elected at the Landsgemeinde. Before these conquests were made, the officers appointed by the general assemblies were either honorary, or very moderately remunerated. But in these new offices there was not only position and influence,

but considerable emolument. The offices were therefore eagerly sought after; and whereas bribery had been a thing almost unknown, it was soon extensively practised. Not only were large sums of money paid to the canton for the more important of these appointments—Thurgau, Baden, or Rheinthal—sometimes it is said as much as 6,000 to 7,000 gulden (at present day £1,200 to £1,400), but money was also plentifully distributed amongst the electors. We may well imagine what a turmoil there was at the Landsgemeinde when the turns of a canton came to elect not only to one but to several of these offices. Then the fortunate candidate, who was bound to do all he could to further the welfare of the people over whom he was sent to rule, besides thinking of this, had something more important on his mind, to make good his outlay by fleecing the unhappy subjects. He had only two years to do it in, and he hoped to make a handsome sum besides. So the people were ground down by raising of taxes, and by various acts of oppression. Sometimes, after in vain representing their grievances to the canton by whom the bailiff was appointed, they were driven to outbreaks of rebellion, which were put down by force. All the cantons were bound to assist in repressing disorder in the subject lands, and seldom was any concession made to them unless some danger threatened either the canton or the Confederation. Even if sometimes a conscientious bailiff was appointed, who tried to do his duty to those under him, the term was too short to effect much, and the little benefit was swept away by the next comer. The subject lands are said to have been the curse of Switzerland, and to the corruption to which these practices led was largely due the fall of Switzerland after the French Revolution of 1798.

Of these subject lands there were a great number; but of these there were but three of any importance with which the Forest Cantons alone were concerned, either collectively or individually. These were the Entlebuch, administered by

Canton Lucerne; the March, Einsiedeln, Küssnacht, Pfäffikon, administered by Canton Schwyz; and Bollenz, Riviera, and Bellinzona, administered by Uri, Schwyz, and Nidwalden. It may here be mentioned that the earliest subject land acquired by the Forest Cantons was the small district of Weggis, at the base of the Rigi. This was bought by the town of Lucerne in 1381 from the Lord of Ramstein and Hertenstein. Whereas twenty-one years before the inhabitants of Weggis were regarded as Confederates, they were now reduced to the condition of subjects; and, in spite of their reliance on old treaties, they were compelled to pay homage to Lucerne, and swear to be obedient in respect of taxes and other dues. The people of Lucerne wished to be free themselves, but were not anxious to let others share their privileges.

After the defeat of the Austrians at Sempach, a large portion of their possessions came into the hands of Lucerne. These were Entlebuch, with the parishes of Wohlhusen, Ruswyl, Rothenburg, Hochdorf, Sempach, Root, Kriens, Horw, and Malters. Entlebuch, with these others, in spite of a previous agreement, became subjects of Lucerne. Entlebuch had been mortgaged by the house of Habsburg to Peter von Thorberg. Lucerne compensated him, and appointed a bailiff to administer the province. Entlebuch had, like most of the other subject lands, a Constitution of its own, and in minor matters managed its own affairs by means of a council. The higher administration was in the hands of the bailiff. He received the incomings (taxes, rents, fines, &c.), led the troops in war, had criminal jurisdiction, presiding in capital cases over a court appointed by the Confederation. He had yearly to give an account of receipts and expenses: the balance was handed over to the canton (or cantons) concerned. Amongst the outbreaks occasioned by the oppression of the bailiffs, there were two especially serious. In 1513 a revolt broke out, led by Matthias von Wittelingen, of Willisau, and

the standard-bearer (landesfahndrich), Heid of Entlebuch. The peasants to the number of 7,000 appeared before the town of Lucerne, and demanded the punishment of those who had accepted wages and bribes at once from the king of France, and the Duke of Milan. The town was obliged to consent to their demands. Arnold Moser, the bailiff of Russwyl, was beheaded; and Petermann Feer (mayor), a member of one of the wealthiest families of Lucerne, who had led the troops of Lucerne at the battle of Dornach, was deprived of his office, and forfeited his property. On this the besiegers withdrew, and deputies from the other Federated cantons brought about a compromise. Other disorders which succeeded were soon forcibly repressed, and Hans Heid, with others, perished on the scaffold.

In 1570 the peasants rose in insurrection in the district of Rothenburg, and encamped before Lucerne at the Emmenbrücke, but the revolt was quelled without bloodshed by the intervention of Canton Basel. About the middle of the next century there arose in Entlebuch a much more serious disturbance, which was part of a movement of the peasants and subjects throughout the whole Confederation, similar to those in France and England at the same time. In Lucerne, as in other towns, the ruling families were limited in number, and by degrees they began to consider that they had, like kings, a "divine right," and were, by virtue of their position, of a superior race, to whom the peasants (country-folk), whom they once called their equals, must pay absolute obedience. The townspeople in Lucerne and the peasants were both irritated by arbitrary and excessive imposts. The authorities assumed to themselves various monopolies, such as the sale of salt and powder; of licenses to exercise a trade; they hindered the sale of cattle by imposing a tax for going on pasture; and the sale of wine by an octroi. Still more bitterness was caused by the arbitrary raising of taxes, and, above all, by the debasing of the coinage. The men of Entlebuch, in January, 1653, sent

deputies to Lucerne to ask for help in their difficulties, and for removal of the restrictions on trade. Their requests were refused, and they were told it was their duty to bear the burdens laid on them without murmuring. The men of Entlebuch armed themselves, and after a great meeting at Wohlhusen they advanced on Lucerne. But they could do nothing against the fortified town, and were obliged to agree to a compromise. A judicial decision was given by the Federal deputies. Some concessions were made to them, but the discontent was far from being allayed.

The peasants were deeply wounded by the humiliating way in which this decision referred to them. They were described as perverse and senseless people, and it was falsely declared that they had begged for pardon. They repented of having agreed to the terms, and the agitation recommenced. Here the differences which for nearly a century had divided Catholics and Protestants disappeared; all held together to assert their rights. They swore at the meeting in Hutwyl to stand by each other, as their ancestors had done at the Grütli. Three men of Entlebuch appeared at a meeting in Schüpfheim as the Three Tells. The peasants' demands were just and moderate; they only wished the new taxes and restrictions on trade to be abolished, but this they could not obtain. Lucerne called on the other Lands and Zug for help, and the Federal Parliament determined to put down the revolt by force. The insurrection extended widely in the other subject lands, and the principal battle took place on June 3rd at Wohlenschwyl (near Mellingen in Canton Aargau), in which the peasants were defeated by an inferior, but better armed and disciplined, military force. The contingents which the Lands sent to Lucerne under General Zweier encountered the peasants of Lucerne at Gislikon. After fighting four hours the battle came to an end without result. But elsewhere the peasants were everywhere worsted, and by September the insurrection was completely quelled. The government of Lucerne used its victory without mercy.

Christian Schybi, the Entlebuch leader, was tortured and beheaded. The court in Stans had condemned twelve of the chief peasant insurgents to death. Of these seven were executed, two contrived to escape, and three had their sentence commuted on the payment of a heavy fine. The inferior citizens of Lucerne, who had also agitated for a removal of their disabilities, were severely punished.

The despotic rule of the authorities and the oppressors of the peasants was thus perpetuated for more than a century and a half. The dawn of freedom only came with the French Revolution.

The Forest Cantons had relations from very early times with the Italian side of the St. Gotthard Pass. Even in the thirteenth century there was an exchange of goods between Switzerland and Italy, which increased as time went on. The interruptions to which this traffic was liable made the men of Uri think of getting hold of the district of Upper Tessin, called the Val Leventina.

In 1331 they undertook a military expedition to secure the safety of their communications.

In 1403, when the officers, agents of the Visconti (then ruling in Milan), seized cattle going from the Forest Cantons to the market of Varese, because they refused to pay the toll demanded, the men of Uri and Obwalden crossed the Pass and took possession of the Leventina, and this was the first subject land held by Uri (1440). They had soon to go beyond the Leventina.

In 1410 bands of plunderers from the Eschenthal (Val d'Ossola), then under the dominion of Milan, stole cattle from the subjects of Uri at Faido, south of the St. Gotthard Pass, and insulted their rulers. On this all the Confederates (except Bern) crossed the Passes of St. Gotthard and St. Giacomo, and conquered the whole of the Val d'Ossola, which became the second common subject land.

In 1414 an army sent by the Duke of Savoy and the Lord

of Raron (in Wallis) retook this valley, but in 1418 the Confederates again occupied it.

In 1419 Uri and Obwalden purchased the lordship of the town of Bellinzona. The garrison placed in it was insufficient, and the town was surprised and captured by the Milanese. The Confederates crossed the St. Gotthard Pass, but there was no unity of action. Some cantons were dissatisfied with the constant campaigns across the Alps. The army advanced in separate divisions, not supporting each other.

On June 30, 1422, the vanguard, 3,000 in number, from the cantons of Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, and Zug, were surprised at Arbedo by a greatly superior Milanese army, 24,000 in number, and after a desperate resistance were almost annihilated. So many men of Lucerne fell that the population were forbidden to go to meet the returning troops, either on the lake or in the town. The Lucerne commander, Mayor Ulrich Walker, was accused of cowardice and want of generalship, and condemned to pay a large sum to aid in ransoming the prisoners. It was long before the other Lands forgot that the men of Schwyz, though encamped not far off, had not come to their assistance. The Confederates retreated, and all the possessions south of the St. Gotthard were lost for a time.

In 1425 a band of volunteers, under Peter Rissi, captured Domo d'Ossola, but were there besieged by a large Milanese force: a Confederate army succeeded only in releasing their imperilled countrymen. Without regard to the wishes of Canton Uri, they restored to the Duke of Milan all their conquests south of the Alps in return for certain trading concessions, and the payment of a large sum of money. Repeated interruptions to the traffic compelled Uri to make further expeditions across the Pass.

In 1441 Uri obtained the right of taking goods toll-free to the gates of Milan, together with a sum of 3,000 ducats, of which one third was paid down, and for the rest Val Leventina

was pledged. This district was finally made over to Uri in 1467. The men of Uri were not exempt from the demoralisation which followed after the great victories of the Burgundian wars, when the Confederates became presumptuous, and their favour and alliance was courted by the most powerful states of Europe. They were infected by the desire of conquest and thirst for the gold which was so lavishly spent on the Swiss, especially by the French kings. In 1478 they made an ill-advised campaign against Milan, which might have turned out disastrously, but the valour of the Confederates, led by the hero Frischaus Theiling, nobly aided by the men of Val Leventina, under their captain Stangas, turned the tide of battle at Giornico. Val Blegno was added to the subject districts of the Three Lands, and by 1516 Bellinzona, and the whole valley down to the Lago Maggiore, was in their hands.

Here, as elsewhere, the subjects were often harshly treated, and their claims to justice neglected. Some concessions were made in 1713, but in 1755 an outbreak in Val Leventina was put down by force, and the unhappy subjects were compelled on their knees to witness the execution of their leaders.

In 1778 some enlightened members of the aristocracy at Bern proposed to make the subject lands equal at least to the allied (*zugewandte*) districts, but the proposal was refused, and their freedom did not come until the French Revolution of 1798, when the districts of Val Leventina, Riviera, Bollenz, Lugano, &c., were formed into the two cantons of Bellinzona and Lugano, which in 1803 were united as Canton Tessin.

The so-called "outer districts" of Canton Schwyz comprehended the March, Einsiedeln, Pfäffikon, Küssnacht, and Wollerau. These came into the hands of the "inner" or "old" Land Schwyz, either by alliance or conquest, at different times, and were ruled as subject lands. The March, a fertile district lying along the south shore of the upper Zürich See, belonged originally to the Counts of Rapperswyl, and when

that family died out the Upper March fell to Frederick of Toggenburg, the Lower to the house of Habsburg.

After the dispute which arose about the inheritance of the last Toggenburg, in 1436, the Canton Schwyz, besides sharing certain districts, Gaster and Utznach with Glarus, obtained the Upper March, Pfäffikon, and Wollerau for herself.

The subject lands of Schwyz fared no better than the others, though there were no violent outbreaks amongst them. When the French Revolution came, in the beginning of 1798, the subject lands everywhere began to move. The Landsgemeinde of March declared that it would take up arms to gain its rights, and after various efforts and much hesitation, on February 18th the outer districts were declared free, and their inhabitants to have equal rights with the old Land Schwyz. The March, Pfäffikon, and Wollerau were, however, separated from the Waldstätte, and included in Canton Linth. The friction between the supporters of the old and new state of things was such that a civil war was imminent, when a new constitution was introduced by Napoleon. The subject lands remained free, privileges of birth and rank were abolished, but various rights, such as the freedom of the press, the right of petition, the sovereignty of the people, had disappeared.

In 1815 there was a return to the old state of things, and the old Land Schwyz again assumed its authority over the outer districts. These offered a violent opposition, but, owing to their want of unity, the inner district succeeded in securing a great preponderance in the Cantonal Council, returning nearly two-thirds of the members. After many vain endeavours to get this inequality redressed, the outer districts held a Landsgemeinde on May 6th, 1832, at which they determined to separate and form themselves into a separate half-canton. This was approved by the Federal Parliament, but a separate Parliament was summoned at Sarnen by the Three Lands with Basel, Neuchatel, and Wallis, which protested against the division either of Canton Schwyz or Basel, and against the

admission of members of the revolted districts to the Federal Parliament. This last sitting at Zürich decreed the separation of both cantons, and the dissolution of the league of Sarnen. Disregarding the decree, Schwyz sent troops to occupy Küssnacht, and prepared to advance upon Lucerne. This plan was defeated by the energetic action of the Federal Parliament, which sent troops into Basel and Schwyz, and decreed the dissolution of the alliance of the six cantons. Upon this its members mostly returned to their places in the Federal Parliament, and the two divisions of Schwyz were again united. The Landsgemeinde was to be held at Rothenthurm, as the most central point of the whole canton; and it met here until it was finally abolished after the disorderly scenes of 1838, and later of 1847.

Differing from the subject lands, and yet not in a very much better position, were the protected districts. Of these, the only one protected by the Forest Cantons, and by Schwyz in particular, was Gersau. Gersau, a small district of some few square miles on the Lake of Lucerne, between Vitznau and Brunnen, was originally part of Thurgau and Zürichgau, and along with these came, under the rule of the counts of Lenzburg, and later of the house of Habsburg. It was mortgaged to the Lords of Moos, who were citizens of Lucerne; but in 1390 the Commune redeemed the mortgage for 690 lbs. of pfennings (1 lb. = 20 plappart = 160 pfenning; 1 gulden = 480 pfenning = 3 lbs. Whole sum = 230 gulden, now about £500), and became master of its own "courts, taxes, and privileges." In its remote position, almost unnoticed, it was long allowed to regulate its own affairs without interference. In 1359 it became closely allied to the Forest Cantons. It helped in the battle of Sempach, and a native of Gersau brought home the Hohenzollern banner, which was long preserved in the church of St. Marcellus.* In 1431 Gersau was acknowledged as an independent member of the Confederation. In 1433 the

* This is said to have been stolen and restored to the family.

Emperor Sigismund confirmed the little republic in its rights. In 1483 it purchased from a citizen of Lucerne the right of making the ecclesiastical appointments, and so united all privileges in itself. It belonged to the diocese of Constanz till 1815. Lucerne endeavoured to assert the same rights over Gersau as over Weggis; but a judicial sentence by Uri and Unterwalden contravened this, and the citizens of Gersau swore allegiance to the Confederation on their own ground. In case of war Gersau followed that canton which first called upon it. Thus in the old Zürich war (1436–1450), and in the battle of Kappel (1531) it followed Schwyz, sending 100 men; and in the peasant war (1653) Lucerne, sending 62 men; and in 1712 (Vilmergen) sending 75 men. The little state pursued its course quietly, though not unfrequently mocked by its larger neighbours, especially by Lucerne. Gersau had a gallows of its own, which, however, was never used. The men of Lucerne once by night hung a straw man on this gallows; but the men of Gersau, discovering the perpetrators, dressed it in blue and white, the Lucerne colours. This led to a lengthy quarrel, which was at last settled by the men of Gersau taking off the clothes, and the men of Lucerne removing the figure.

Diebold Schilling, the historian of Lucerne, is not sparing of contemptuous remarks of Gersau and its inhabitants, which were wholly undeserved. The inhabitants were very jealous of their name and privileges. When new citizens were admitted, they swore, in return for their privileges, to obey the decrees of the majority, acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court of Gersau, and take no share in party disputes, but to deal with the community as a whole, and consented if they did not observe these rules to lose their privileges.

One of the members of the family of Küttel, who with four other families were admitted about 1528, in 1634 spoke lightly of his privileges as citizen of Gersau. On this all the members of these families were expelled from Gersau, with four others who sympathised with them. They refused to

admit the authority of the Gersau court (thus breaking their promise), and appealed to the Forest Cantons. A court of eight members (two from each canton) met at Gersau (in spite of protests from Gersau) to judge the matter, and decided against Gersau. Half the costs were laid on Gersau. This was only paid seven years after, and the court of Gersau suffered much from the refusal to admit its jurisdiction over all its inhabitants.

In the eighteenth century Gersau came more and more under the influence of its immediate neighbour, the Canton of Schwyz. During this period the little state throve, and trade improved: particular progress was made in silk spinning in the latter half of the century.

The Constitution of Gersau was like those of its neighbour. It had its Landsgemeinde, its council of nine members, which in important civil cases was doubled, and for criminal jurisdiction trebled. When the disturbances about 1798 began, Gersau took part with Schwyz in its resistance. Its contingent of fifty-four men was detached into the Haslithal on April 21st, and returned on May 2nd, but took no part in Reding's gallant defence at Rothenthurm. On May 4th Schwyz was compelled to surrender, and with it Gersau, which became an administrative district of the new canton Waldstätte. Gersau sympathised with Nidwald in its desperate but hopeless resistance, and consequently was several times occupied by the French troops.

In 1803 it was incorporated with Schwyz as an administrative district. Schwyz favoured the local administration of Gersau, which retained its Landsgemeinde, its council, and courts, but only had the shadow of its former freedom.

When, in 1813, the old order of things was restored, Gersau, on February 2nd, 1814, determined to separate from Schwyz and resume its independence. Delegates from the four Forest Cantons met at Gersau, March 2nd, and received the requests favourably. Before June, all four formally sanctioned the

separation, Schwyz expressing its regret, and its willingness to receive Gersau in voluntary union. When called upon by Schwyz in 1815, on the occasion of Napoleon's flight from Elba, Gersau willingly sent its contingent of twenty-four men, and agreed to pay its share of the expenses, thus faithfully doing its part by its protector. They were surprised then to receive from Schwyz, on April 11th, 1816, a proposal to consider the question of their relations. Schwyz declared that she recognized Gersau as an integral part of herself, pointing out that by the Congress of Vienna, Gersau was delineated as part of Schwyz, and that the assembled cantons had guaranteed it. Gersau, whilst declaring that Schwyz two years before had formally recognised her independence, appeared to defy both Congress and Confederation. Gersau proposed, whilst reserving her old rights and liberties, to allow the Federal decrees to be carried out, to furnish her quota of men and money when required, and to allow herself to be represented in the Federal Diet by deputies from Schwyz; thus conceding the substance of the demands.

Schwyz broke off negotiations. The three other Forest Cantons expressed sympathy with Gersau, and proposed a conference, which Schwyz declined. Gersau then (1817) sent deputies to lay their case before the Diet at Bern, but before their arrival the case had been decided in favour of Schwyz, though the other three Forest Cantons voted for independence.

The Landsgemeinde of Schwyz, in 1818, decreed that Gersau should (1) share all the privileges of the rest of the canton; (2) should rank next after Schwyz (old Land) herself; (3) should send six members to the cantonal assembly; (4) should in financial matters be on the same footing as the rest of the canton; (5) should have her due share of the commissions (officers for foreign service). Gersau was obliged to submit, but the change from an independent state to the position of district of a Swiss canton, has been found far less serious in its results than was once feared.

CHAPTER V.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE traditions about the introduction of Christianity into the Forest Cantons are various. St. Beat is said to have come from his cave on the Lake of Thun over the Brünig to convert the people of Unterwalden. At the beginning of the second century A.D., a chapel dedicated to this saint near Lucerne (Oberseewis) is adduced as a proof of this. He is afterwards said to have crossed the Lake of Lucerne, and preached at Iberg in Canton Schwyz. The church at this place is certainly the oldest in the Waldstätte. However, in Schwyz, tradition assigns the introduction of Christianity to St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, in the fourth century, and this bishop is the patron saint of the canton. Even in the sixth century, however, either the population was very small, or the Christian converts very few, for we are told that one priest sufficed for the service both of the church at Iberg in Schwyz, and of that at Ennetmoos in Unterwalden. In Canton Uri tradition speaks of SS. Beat, Felix, and Regula. St. Martin is said to have preached here in 395 A.D. He is the patron saint of this canton also. In 630 A.D. the holy Siegbert traversed Urseren on his way from Wallis to the Convent of Disentis in Granbunden.

In Canton Lucerne tradition only reports, that antecedent to the foundation of the Hofkirche by Wickard, at the supposed date of 750 A.D., there was a chapel there dedicated to St. Nicholas.

It is most probable that Christianity made its way into these

comparatively uninhabited regions along with their occupation by the Alamannians from the north-west. Amongst these the Frankish kings laboured to spread the knowledge of Christianity. Fridolin founded the Convent of Sackingen, and became the patron saint of Glarus. Missionaries from Ireland did much. We find Colombanus preaching in 610 A.D. at the Lake of Zürich, on the northern border of the Waldstätte. In 614 St. Gallus settled in a cell at Steinach, and, along with his disciples, aided not only to spread the truths of the gospel, but to forward the material improvement of the people by clearing the forests, and introducing improved methods of cultivation. In the eighth century the Convent of St. Gall was founded by Othmar, and became a centre of light and learning spreading over the land. Various other convents were founded; amongst them one at Reichenau, near Chur; and one at Disentis, in the Rheinthal. From the former of these came the first apostle who with some historical certainty preached within the Waldstätte. This was Meinrad, the saint to whom the great Monastery of Einsiedeln is dedicated. He was a son of Berchtold, Count of Sulgen, on the Danube; born in the year 800, and educated at the Convent of Reichenau. He was ordained priest, and was sent to Oberbollingen, near Rapperswyl, where he laboured for many years; then, by permission of his superiors, he retired to a solitary hermit life on the Etzel. Here the pressure of visitors, led either by curiosity, or the desire for advice and help in difficulties of all kinds, was too great, and he withdrew still further into the wilderness, to Einsiedeln. This must have been about 853 A.D., for the Frauenmünster had just been founded at Zürich, and the first Abbess, Hildegard, built a wooden cell and a chapel for St. Meinrad. This was the origin of the great monastery which arose on this spot about 1050 A.D.

In the ninth century the Church advanced greatly. In the four cantons many gifts were made to various foundations. Ludwig of Germany endowed the Frauenmünster with all his lands in Uri.

In Unterwalden much property fell to the Church by testamentary gifts. Documents exist as far back as 848 A.D., concerning bequests to the Convents of Muri (Aargau), Lucerne, Engelberg, and Münster.

There was a bishop's see at Windisch (Vindonissa), which was afterwards transferred to Constanz; and the four cantons were in the jurisdiction of this see, with the exception of Urseren, which was under the Bishop of Chur.

For nearly six centuries the clergy in Uri were appointed by the Frauenmünster in Zürich, and those in Urseren by the Convent of Disentis. After 1426 the rights of election were transferred to the parishes, and regulated by a judicial decree (Spannbrief).

As early as 948 there was a church in the Island of Ansenau in the Zürich See, which served both sides of the lake. The teachings of Arnold of Brescia (Zürich, 1140) affected Schwyz.

As the convent of Einsiedeln grew and became more wealthy and powerful, frequent disputes arose between it and the community of the freemen of Schwyz, which lasted over two centuries. In all these conflicts Schwyz remained faithful to the emperors, even in times of an interdict. Supported by its neighbours, Uri and Unterwalden, Schwyz compelled the priests, even at these times, to perform divine service and other functions.

In the fourteenth century (1370) they declared ecclesiastical foundations to be subject to civil law; forbade persons having land in the canton to bequeath it to ecclesiastical foundations. Later it was declared that if they refused to pay taxes they should be left without wood or water, pasture or meadow, and other immunities they claimed were disregarded; the clergy were summoned before civil courts.

They were not, however, debarred from exercising political influence, and we find them often intervening with effect in affairs of importance.

By the end of the fourteenth century the Forest Cantons had freed themselves, by purchase or otherwise, from the authority of the various foundations.

In the early centuries, after the introduction of Christianity into Switzerland, many convents were founded and endowed with much property. These were long the means of forwarding education, of promoting learning, art, and science; and also of forwarding the moral and material welfare of the neighbouring people; but as time went on, their influence was not always used for good. The prince-bishops and abbots, with their increase of wealth and authority, became only so many temporal lords, whose rule became oppressive instead of beneficial; and together with this change the manners of the clergy gradually became deteriorated, along with the general corruption which prevailed elsewhere, and which by degrees led to the Reformation of the sixteenth century, which soon spread from Central Europe into Switzerland.

The great foundations in the Waldstätte were not amongst the earliest in Switzerland: of these there are only two which deserve particular mention, and which have remained great to the present day—those of Einsiedeln in Schwyz and of Engelberg in Unterwalden.

The cell of St. Meinrad at Einsiedeln was occupied by him and his two tame ravens, until he was murdered for greed in 861. Traditions say the murderers were followed by the ravens, like the cranes of Ibycus, as far as Zürich to the spot where the Raven Inn now stands. Here the recognition of the birds by pilgrims led to the apprehension and punishment of the criminals. The cell remained untenanted until 907 A.D., though the image of the Virgin was visited and venerated by the people round. At this time Benno settled in the neighbourhood. He founded the village called after him Bennau (Bennosau = Benno's meadow), built several cells for other brethren, and began to clear and cultivate the ground. The liberality of the neighbouring lords supported the rising

foundation, and the place becoming famed received the name of Maria Einsiedeln.

About 950 A.D., Eberhard, the Prior of the Cathedral of Strasburg, had the cell of St. Meinrad rebuilt in stone, and erected over it a church with other buildings, which formed the convent for monks of the order of St. Benedict, of which Eberhard was the first abbot. Tradition says that when the Bishop of Constanz was about to consecrate the building, a voice was heard to say three times, "Cessa, frater, capella jam divinitus consecrata est." This miraculous dedication is commemorated since in the festival of the "Engelweihe,"* which takes place on the 14th of September, and is attended by an enormous concourse of pilgrims. The convent contained the image of the Virgin worshipped by Meinrad, but his remains were only transferred from Reichenau in 1039, when the church was rebuilt after the fire of 1029, A.D.

The abbots, until the time of the Reformation, were mostly men of rank and distinction, of whom Conrad III. was the last, 1481. They were afterwards mostly of lower rank, but many among them distinguished for piety and learning, as well as for shrewdness and sagacity in managing the convent affairs.

Joachim Eichhorn (1544–1569) recovered, by purchase and otherwise, so much property, and improved the position of the convent financially so much, that he was called its second founder.

The convent suffered repeatedly from fire, having been burned down no less than five times. In all these fires, however, the sacred image and chapel remained uninjured.

The present buildings were commenced in 1704, when Maurus Zoll was abbot, who was distinguished for his eloquence as a preacher. At his death, in 1714, the work was only half complete, and was not finished until 1760.

The Convent of Einsiedeln is still the richest in Switzerland. It is the most frequented pilgrimage church in Switzerland,

* Angelic dedication.

and next to Loretto and St. Iago in all Europe. The average number of pilgrims is estimated at not less than 150,000. Many pious Swiss think it a duty to go once every year, or at least frequently in the course of their lives.

Different districts in the neighbourhood have different pilgrimage days. Thus, the people of the town of Schwyz and neighbourhood go on Whitmonday and Tuesday; those of Gersau on Trinity Sunday; the Höfe (Pfäffikon and Wollerau on the Lake of Zürich) on May 1st, &c.

The inhabitants of the village, 8000 in number, are almost to a man occupied in the manufacture of rosaries, crosses, wax candles, and other memorials for the pilgrims. The house of Benziger and Co. occupies more than 700 persons in the preparation of books about the convent, which are works of art, notably the *Einsiedeln Kalender*, which is arranged to suit each European country, as well as the United States, &c., and whose annual sale does not fall short of half a million.

The Convent of Engelberg was founded in 1121 by Count Conrad of Seldenbüren (Zürich), who endowed it with property in the valley, as well as in the Zürichgau, Aargau, Reussgau, and the Haslithal. It was established for monks of the order of St. Benedict. In 1124 Pope Calixtus called it "Mons Angelorum," whence the valley has derived its present name. In the same year the emperor Henry V. placed it under imperial protection, and in 1128 conferred on it the power of life and death. The founder, Conrad, became a lay brother of the order. He was murdered in 1126, when on a journey to his native place near Zürich. Of the fifty-two abbots, the most distinguished for piety and learning were the first three—Adelheim, Frowinus, and Berchtold. Later, Barnabas Burki was distinguished for his theological knowledge, and for his eloquence at the conference at Baden in 1528; Leodegar Salzmann, of Lucerne, for his wise and firm administration in the catastrophe of 1798, effecting so much to revive the prosperity of the

canton by the introduction of various industries, especially that of silk carding.

The convent has still extensive possessions in the valley, which are well administered; and the people of the valley owe much to the assistance and direction of the monks, who have special charge of the administration of the poor and the supervision of the schools. The convent is under the jurisdiction of no bishop, but is dependent immediately on the pope. Like Einsiedeln, the convent has suffered severely from fire, having been burned down in 1197, 1306, and 1729.

Amongst the most prominent figures in the religious life of the Forest Cantons is Bruder Klaus (Nicholas von der Flue), of whom a more particular account is given in chapter x. His history has been surrounded with so many fictions, that it is difficult to separate the true from the false. In 1467 he determined to leave his wife and family of ten children, and to lead a solitary life as a hermit at the Ranft, near Sachseln. His motive for this is said to have been a deep feeling of the immorality and corruption of the time. Here he remained for twenty years, and tradition says that during that period he partook of no food but the consecrated wafer. He was regarded far and near as a saint, and was visited by many persons of all conditions of life to obtain his advice. The most remarkable instance of his giving effectual advice was on the occasion of the parliament at Stans in 1481, which met to discuss the question of the division of the booty taken in the Burgundian wars, and of the admission of the towns of Fribourg and Soleure into the Confederation. After a violent dispute, the deputies were about to separate in anger, when they were reconciled by the exhortations of Bruder Klaus to unity (whether given personally or not is uncertain), and the towns, though with limitations, were admitted. Bruder Klaus died March 21st, 1487.

When the Reformation spread over Germany the wave of feeling extended into Switzerland. The person who had most

to do with this movement was Ulrich Zwingle, born in 1484 at Wildhaus, in Toggenburg. He became, in 1506, Pfarrer at Glarus, and his study of the New Testament in the original raised doubts in his mind about the teaching of the fathers, and of the doctrines of the Papacy. Other abuses of the time were brought before him. He was present as field preacher in the Italian campaigns, and whilst in the campaign of Pavia he could not but admire the bravery of his countrymen, he was filled with grief and indignation at the excesses he had to witness. In 1516 he became preacher at Einsiedeln, and in 1518 he went to Zürich as parish priest. Here he found a number of persons of his way of thinking, and began openly to expound his views first on New Year's-day, 1519. He assailed the immorality of the clergy, the errors of the Papacy, the sale of indulgences, but equally so other abuses, the pensions and payments for mercenary services, and the foreign capitulations; he himself formally renounced the pension which the Pope for years had paid him as a supporter of the Catholic faith. In 1519, at the festival of the Engelweihe (September 14th) in Einsiedeln, he preached with great acceptance to an immense concourse of pilgrims, and it is hardly to be doubted that the Reformed doctrines would have found favour in the Waldstätte, since the people were sensible of the corruption of the clergy. But Zwingli, along with a religious, was also anxious to effect a political reformation. With the cessation of foreign military service which he wished to abolish, they saw one of the chief sources of their wealth dried up, and they set themselves against further preaching of the Reformed doctrines. In 1524 the Parliament at Lucerne determined to abide by the old faith, and the Waldstätte withdrew from the friendship with Zürich. The subject land of Thurgau was under the immediate jurisdiction of Zürich, and consequently the Reformed doctrines were speedily promulgated in it, but the bailiffs appointed by the Catholic Cantons opposed the movement by violence.

The convent of Ittingen, one of the bulwarks of the old faith, was destroyed by fire. The sub-bailiffs, Wirth and Rüttiman, together with the sons of the former, were falsely accused of this, and in spite of the advocacy of Zürich they were condemned and executed. These were the first victims of religious hate. The Waldstätte would certainly have gone to war with Zürich had their ardour not been damped by the losses they sustained at the battle of Pavia (February, 1525).

The Waldstätte ordered that Zwingli should be apprehended if found within their territory. The Reformed doctrines spread not only in Thurgau, but in Rheinthal, Sargaus, Gaster, and the free bailiwicks. Hitherto in these the majority of the cantons had prevailed, but Bern and Zürich refused to admit this principle in religious matters, and the influence of the Catholic Cantons declined. Separate alliances were formed on the one hand by Bern, Zürich, St. Gall, Mulhouse, Biel, and Constanz, and on the other by the Catholic cantons with Austria (1529), as Zürich had done one hundred years before.

The Canton of Schwyz burned the evangelical curé, Jacob Kaiser, of Schwarzenbach, for preaching the Reformation on their soil.

Zwingli declared war against the five cantons, and in June, 1529, he advanced to Kappel. Here the opposing armies met, but there was still so much friendly feeling that the opposite outposts exchanged provisions. The war was terminated without a conflict by the first peace of Kappel, which guaranteed toleration to both forms of faith; left decisions in the common subject lands to the several communes, and abolished the Austrian alliance.

Zwingli, however, continued his efforts against the Catholic Cantons. He was all-powerful at Zürich, and without consulting the other protecting states, Lucerne and Schwyz, he deprived the Abbot of St. Gall of his authority, and gave the Toggenburg a free constitution. He wished to withdraw the subject lands entirely from the control of the five cantons, and so make

them mere servants of Bern and Zürich. Another cause of dissension soon arose, when the Catholic Cantons did not help as they were bound to do in the recovery of the Valteline. Zwingli at first endeavoured to coerce them by stopping their supplies, salt especially, and when this method failed he declared war. The troops of Zürich again advanced to Kappel, with orders not to engage before the arrival of the Bernese contingent. These orders were disobeyed, and in the ensuing battle (October 11th, 1531) the Catholics were completely victorious, and Zwingli himself fell. It the second peace of Kappel (November 20th, 1531) religious toleration was guaranteed, but all separate alliances were forbidden. The progress of the Reformation was stopped, and Zürich besides had to make important concessions to pacify the discontented country people.

The Catholic success developed a kind of counter reformation. In various places the Catholic worship was re-established, and in some instances the Reformed worship was suppressed. The Catholic Cantons had the advantage of a compact central position, with Fribourg and Soleure as a bulwark on one side, and Appenzell (Inner Rhoden) on the other, whilst the Reformed Cantons were separated either by outliers of the Catholic party or by districts equally divided between the two beliefs. At this time toleration and generosity seemed to die out. Both parties became equally bitter. Bern, in 1555, declared that the religion of a place must be that which its rulers ordered, and compelled the people in the Saanenthal (which they had just acquired) to renounce their religion *en masse*, whilst their national amusements and festivals were at the same time suppressed. Similarly the Catholic cantons in Locarno, where evangelists from Zürich and Glarus had sown the Reformed doctrines on a fruitful soil, declared that the converts must either return to their former faith or leave their country. The converts gave up land and wealth for their faith. More than one hundred in number, they crossed the Alps when the passes were yet deep in snow (March, 1555), and met with

a hospitable reception at Zürich and Basel. Amongst them were various families known afterwards to fame, as Muralt and Orelli.

The Catholic Cantons became more and more connected with the Papal policy, and threw themselves into the Catholic reformation decreed by the Council of Trent. The gulf between the two parties became wider. Without regard to the other Confederate Cantons the Catholics formed alliances in 1565 with Pope Pius IV., Spain, and Savoy, and with them took measures to root out the new heresy. Charles Borromeus, the Archbishop of Milan, who in his own diocese had carried out the counter reformation with great strictness, now selected Switzerland as the central field for his activity. He was the leader of the movement in Mesocco; he tried to urge the Catholic cantons to establish a theological college, and hoped to introduce the Jesuits and the Inquisition into Switzerland. His proceedings were too severe even for the clergy, who complained of the innovations and strict methods of the archbishop. The five cantons then desired the Pope to send a Nuncio to arrange church matters, and so in 1580 the first Papal Nuncio, Buonhomo, appeared in Switzerland, and fixed his residence in Lucerne. The archbishop continued his campaign with zeal, personally visiting Tessin, the Val Blegno, the Vorder Rheinthal, and the Central Cantons, and endeavouring everywhere to reform Church practice, and promote morality. The Papal Nuncio proceeded on the same lines, and on his journeys he was assailed not only by the Reformed Cantons, but also in various Catholic districts, which feared inroads on their independence. The clergy even in some places petitioned against the new inquisitor, who looked so closely into their shortcomings. The efforts of the archbishop were seconded in the four cantons by men such as Melchior Lussi in Stans, and Ludwig Pfyffer in Lucerne, and by their efforts the Jesuits were introduced into Lucerne in 1574, into Altdorf in 1581, and Stans in 1582. The division between the two parties grew wider.

The Reformed party, with Henry of Navarre and the French Huguenots, supported Geneva against Savoy, whilst the five cantons sided with Savoy and the French Catholics. In 1586 the Catholic Cantons formed a separate League, called the Borromean, or Golden League, offensive and defensive, to maintain and defend the Catholic religion, and made alliances with Pope Sixtus V., and with Philip II. of Spain. The Catholic Cantons opposed the admission of new members, if evangelical, and the mutual jealousy injured or destroyed those who were already in the Federation. Thus Constanz was surprised by Austria in 1548, and the evangelical Mulhouse was turned out in 1586. Appenzell was rent by religious discord until the Confederate Parliament decreed its separation into two half-cantons, in one of which (Inner Rhoden) the Catholics were to reside, and in the other the Protestants.

Lucerne became the head of the Catholic Cantons, under the leadership of Ludwig Pfyffer, called the Swiss King, who fought with the Catholics of France against the Huguenots (1562) at Dreux, St. Denis, and Jarnac.

As the Cantons took opposite sides, there was a kind of civil war between their mercenaries in France. When Henry IV. became a Catholic the Catholic Cantons formed an alliance with him, and peace was for a time restored to the Confederation.

The disturbances arising from the discontent of the subject lands and the country districts (Unterthanes and Landvolk), in the first half of the seventeenth century, disclosed many defects in the Federal Constitution. All attempts, however, at supplying a remedy were defeated by religious jealousy. The Catholic Cantons were jealous of their rights, and feared the preponderance of the towns; and, as if in defiance, they renewed in 1655 the Golden League, and, contrary to the decree of the Federal Parliament, renewed their alliance with France. The state of tension was such that a little matter produced a civil war. A Reformed

congregation, which had secretly been formed in Arth (Canton Schwyz), on being discovered, fled to Zürich. The authorities of Schwyz confiscated their property, punished their relations in the most cruel way, and demanded the surrender of the fugitives. Zürich declared war in the name of the Reformed Cantons; but whilst her troops besieged Rapperswyl, the Bernese were surprised and defeated by the troops of Lucerne at Vilmergen (Aargau), January 23rd, 1656. The neutral cantons and foreign powers effected an armistice. Each canton was to be left free to expel a faith of which it did not approve, and the breach in the Confederation grew wider.

In spite of the peace, frequent disputes took place in the common subject lands, and finally a disturbance in the Toggenburg. Here the Abbot of St. Gall, supported by Schwyz, wished to resume his authority, and re-introduce the Catholic religion. Schwyz proposed to make a great road through the Hummelwald to unite her with St. Gall and N.E. Switzerland, and so separate Zürich from Glarus and Granbünden.

Whilst Schwyz and St. Gall sought the alliance of Austria, the Toggenburgers called on Bern and Zürich for help. There was again (July 25th, 1712) a battle at Vilmergen, in which the Reformed party were victorious; and the advance of Zürich against Rapperswyl, Schwyz, and Zug compelled the Catholics to yield.

In the peace which ensued the Catholic Cantons were excluded from any further share in the government of Baden and the lower portion of the free bailiwicks; whilst Bern was admitted to share in the ruling of Thurgau, Rheinthal, and the upper free bailiwicks.

Toggenburg became again subject to the Abbot of St. Gall; but civil and religious liberty was guaranteed. Thus the Catholic Cantons declined, and Bern and Zürich rose in importance. But the Confederation was still more deeply divided.

For more than eighty years the Catholic (chiefly the Forest)

Cantons strove to recover their lost influence. Reform and progress were hindered by these unhappy divisions until the end of the eighteenth century.

In the struggles between the Conservatives and Liberals, which ensued after 1830, the religious differences had a large part. The canton of Aargau resolved to abolish the convents, and on the whole this resolution was supported by the majority of the cantons (1843). On this the Waldstätte and Lucerne, with Zug, Freiburg, and Wallis, formed a separate league (Sonderbund) to guarantee the threatened liberties of Catholic Switzerland.

This was almost a repetition of the Golden League, and was formed by almost the same cantons. The Jesuits were again summoned to Lucerne, and entrusted with the higher education. An attempt of the Liberals in Lucerne to overthrow the Government was forcibly repressed; but at last, in 1847, the Federal Parliament called on the seven cantons to break up the Sonderbund. As this warning was disregarded, both sides prepared for war.

After severe fighting at Honan and Gislikon, the Sonderbund army was defeated, Lucerne capitulated, and the other cantons gave way. The Jesuits were once more expelled, and a new and improved Federal Constitution was organised.

In 1815, on account of the liberal action of Baron von Weissenburg, the Vicar-General of the Bishop of Constanz, who proposed many reforms, parts of Switzerland, amongst them the Forest Cantons, were separated from that bishopric, and administered by an Apostolic Vicar, Prior Goldlin, in Beromünster (east of Sursee).

In 1818, the Pope endeavoured without success to erect a special bishop's see for Einsiedeln, in Canton Schwyz. After the death of Prior Goldlin, the Catholics of East Switzerland were placed provisionally under the Bishop of Chur. The Catholics in a number of cantons, one of which was Lucerne, renewed the bishopric of Basel (abolished 1815).

The new bishop's seat was at Soleure. The Papal authority was still dominant in Catholic Switzerland, and the relations of Catholics and Protestants were as strained as in the seventeenth century.

In 1832–3, the pretensions of Rome led to resistance in various parts of Switzerland. Seven cantons (amongst them Lucerne) resolved to establish a Swiss archbishopric, rejected the claim of the Nuncio to episcopal functions; asserted the right of the State to control all ecclesiastical relations, and to exercise supervision over seminaries and synods; abolished all independent rights of convents, which were to be under episcopal jurisdiction, and to be liable to taxation; determined to diminish the number of festivals, and to put an end to the office of Nuncio. Most of the governments were opposed to Rome, and in favour of toleration. Aargau placed its convents under civil control, and finally (1841) suppressed them: St. Gall suppressed the convent of Pfaffers.

Several of the cantons which formed the Catholic bishopric of Basel have declined to recognise the Bishop, and he has now jurisdiction over about 150,000 Catholics in Lucerne and Zug, and a certain number (? 50,000) in Canton Bern. Aargau renounced the bishopric in 1875, and it is expected the other cantons will follow the example.

The proportion of Catholics to Protestants in the whole of Switzerland is roughly about three to two. The four Forest Cantons are almost exclusively Catholic, the percentage being Lucerne, ninety-seven; Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, ninety-nine. The three last are in the bishopric of Chur, which includes also the Catholic population of Granbünden and Appenzell (Inner Rhoden). When Monsignor Lachat, bishop of Basel (in 1873), excommunicated two priests who had refused to acknowledge the Vatican decrees of 1870, the cantons under his jurisdiction refused to allow him to retain the see. The Canton of Lucerne, however, allowed him to reside in it.

The dispute was settled at last, in September, 1884, by the appointment of Mons. Lachat to the bishopric of Damietta, *in partibus*, and to the post of apostolic vicar in Ticino, which canton had just been cut off from the Italian diocese to which it belonged.

The bishopric of Basel was filled up, July 27th, 1885, by Frederick Fiala, a learned Swiss historian. He died May 24th, 1888, and the see is now filled by F. Leonard Haas (principal of the Ecclesiastical Seminary in Lucerne), who was elected July 10th, and consecrated October 18th, 1888.

Until 1814, the clergy of Unterwalden were under the chapter of the Waldstätte. In this chapter only the beneficed clergy were represented, whilst the rest of the clergy were excluded, and so a kind of aristocracy was formed. This chapter has been broken up by the new ecclesiastical arrangements of Switzerland.

As a general rule the people nominate the incumbent, and the bishop presents. (This is the case in Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden.) Elsewhere the ruling body presents several, of whom the bishop chooses one. The Cantonal "Placet," however, is required, and in some cases the new incumbents have to swear fidelity to the Constitution.

Of the four cantons Lucerne is the most liberal; in the town of Lucerne various forms of worship are tolerated.

In Unterwalden, for many years, no building, whether school-house or church, was erected for the use of the Protestant faith. Since 1877 there is more toleration.

In all the cantons the Sundays are very strictly observed. In Unterwalden the inns, during divine service, can only be used by travellers. No driver can go with a carriage without special leave. No one may buy or sell, carry loads, or drive cattle. The cure's leave is required to get in hay on a Sunday or a holiday, though this rule is less strictly observed in the other Catholic Cantons.

The Canton of Lucerne has been subject to various develop-

ments of religious feeling. Some of these, and the way in which the authorities regarded them, may fitly be mentioned here. In 1705, when the Catholic and Reformed parties were greatly embittered against each other, and it seemed that a war might break out at any moment, a mission was held at Lucerne by a celebrated Italian preacher, named Fulvio Fontana, who was introduced by the Papal Nuncio. He spoke in Italian, but his eloquence was such that the whole population, rich and poor, were in the highest degree excited by his exhortations to repentance. The town council, by order, appeared in procession as barefoot pilgrims, with cockleshell and staff; the women with crucifixes in their hands, ropes round their necks, to which skulls and crossbones were attached, and crowns of thorns on their heads. One person is said to have died from loss of blood, from pressing the crown of thorns on the temples. The gay population of Lucerne became repentant sinners, loaded themselves with chains, girded themselves with sackcloth, and scourged themselves with rods. Prayer meetings were held day and night. All worldly books and card playing were forbidden. Ornaments were destroyed or given for the benefit of the poor. With the younger people the effects were not lasting, for the same year they held their processions, the Fritschi Zug and the Amman Zug. With the elders the effect was more permanent, and indeed became a cause of offence; for we find a decree of the town council desiring their members to attend to business, and not to read their prayer-books during the meetings of the council.

This was a Catholic mission favoured by the authorities; but when in 1817 the Baroness Juliana von Krüdner, a friend of the Czar Alexander I., delivered a series of addresses to a large assemblage, which were a mixture of praying, preaching, and prophesying, in an anti-Catholic sense, the authorities acted very differently. Besides spiritual food, she administered also bodily sustenance to her poorer hearers. Lucerne was like to be turned upside down, when the clergy of the town

appealed to the council. The Baroness was seized one night, put in a coach, and packed off to Zürich, whither about fifty of her most devoted disciples followed her.

In 1759 there was born at Schüpfheim, in the Entlebuch, one Anton Unternährer. He was a jack of all trades, having been in succession cowboy, carpenter, private tutor, barometer maker, herbalist, botanist, cow doctor, and surgeon. He saw, or pretended that he saw, visions which declared him to be intended to reform the world, and himself to become its lord and master. In 1802 he published a book, entitled, *God, the Lord of Hosts, a Consuming Fire*, in which he advocated community of goods and wives, abolition of the church and her services, of schools, and of all temporal authorities. Universal love was to take the place of religion and divine services.

In the same year he summoned the members of the government of the Helvetic Republic to meet him on Good Friday, in the Cathedral of Bern, when the Saviour would pronounce judgment upon them, and he (Unternährer) would ascend to heaven. His followers attended on the occasion, but were arrested, and Unternährer was imprisoned for two years. Immediately after his release he began to preach again, and was banished from the Canton of Bern. His disciples followed him to Entlebuch, and at last, in 1806, he was put in prison at Lucerne, where he remained for five years. When released he was for some time quiet, but followed no regular occupation, and became a burden on the parish. The authorities of Bern complained that pilgrimages were made to the "Saviour in Schüpfheim," and in 1820 he was again imprisoned in the Rosengarten Tower,* where he died in 1823.

* This tower was in the back Ledergasse, but has been partly destroyed and partly included in other buildings.

CHAPTER VI.

ECONOMICAL CONDITION, TRADE, ETC.

THE earliest documents relating to economical matters are of the thirteenth century; and from these we find that in the Forest Cantons the communities or parishes (Gemeinde) used land in common. This was called Allmend, and originally comprehended all kinds of land—arable, meadow, pasture, and forest. The members of the community were bound together by their right to the common use of these, and this right was the same for all the members. In course of time portions of land became private property, and the privileges became different in degree, varying according to the amount of land which each member possessed, or the number of cows he could keep upon it. The privileges too became so attached to the homesteads, that they were a real property, and could be alienated or bequeathed at pleasure by the owner; whereas originally they were only personal, and not transferable. Settlers in the commune, whether belonging to the same canton (Beisassen) or to another canton (Hintersassen), had at first no rights at all. The original members sought to prevent fresh admissions, and the exclusiveness became stronger as time went on. The conditions of admission were made more stringent, and the fee charged higher. Thus in Lucerne, in the fifteenth century, nearly 2000 members were admitted; in the eighteenth century less than 100. In Nidwald, in 1496, the price of admission was 5 lbs. gold (= $3\frac{1}{2}$ francs); whereas in 1684 it was 1200 lbs. (840 francs).

Amongst the privileged themselves there were great inequalities of enjoyment of the use of the Allmend; since, with equal rights, the poverty of some prevented their deriving the benefits which the rich did. In the series of struggles to which this led, various laws were passed in favour of the poorer members. Grants of arable land and meadow were made to them, either free or at a small rent. Those who had no cows were allowed to send goats on the common pasture. The number of cows which the rich might send on the alp was restricted, and a tax levied on each in proportion to their number. In spite of these regulations, the advantage remained greatly on the side of the well-to-do. Finally, in later times, the privileges have in many cases been commuted for a money payment, the pastures being let to the highest bidder, or a tax being levied on all cattle and the produce divided. In the progress of these changes various struggles took place in the Forest Cantons. The most remarkable of these took place in Canton Schwyz. It was called the "Battle of the horns and hoofs" (Horn and Klauen Streit). The "horns" represented the cows, or the richer owners; the "hoofs" goats and sheep, *i.e.*, the poorer owners. In the early part of the present century the tax levied upon cattle was so small, that the rich got a most disproportionate advantage. About 1830 an attempt was made by the party which favoured the poorer members to get the productiveness of the alp estimated, not by horns (or by kuhessen, the amount of land necessary for the feed of a cow), which had hitherto been the unit, but by feet (klauen), in which case each animal would be credited with a number of feet proportional to its feeding.* They also desired that the tax levied on all cattle should be raised. The Allmend in Canton Schwyz was then in the hands of two corporations, called Ober Allmend and Unter Allmend. The

* In Unterwalden (1836) a cow was reckoned at four feet, an ox (rind) two feet, a calf one, mare with foal twelve feet, horse under three years six feet, six goats or six sheep four feet, sow with litter two feet.

latter of these had in its hands only the alps of the Rigi, Rufi (Rossberg), Frohn, and Stoss; whilst the former had all the rest of the old Land Schwyz, in amount at least five times that of the latter. The Ober Allmend Corporation desired the chief court of the canton (Kantonsgericht) to draw up a report of the way in which the alp might be used more for the advantage of the poorer Genossen. The friends of the *status quo* soon rallied; and at the Landsgemeinde of 1832 it was resolved to abide by the old tax—20 schillings (88 ctmes.) per cow up to thirty, when it rose to 1 gulden 10 schillings (2 francs, 20 cts). In 1833 a proposal to divide the Allmend was rejected by a large majority. In 1837 it was proposed to allot large portions of the Allmend to the poorer members at low rents. This led to serious disturbances. The "klaüen" party (the Liberals) were attacked by the "horn" party at the Landsgemeinde, and driven off the ground by force.* After much agitation, the Ober Allmend Corporation propounded a plan, which was accepted at the Landsgemeinde in October, 1837. This in some degree reconciled the conflicting class interests. It allowed cattle to be put on the alp freely, requiring, however, an increasing tax for every ten kuhessen, the proceeds to go to a common fund, and to be divided yearly amongst the male members, whose shares were fixed at five francs. But the advantages still remained largely on the side of the richer peasants, who also opposed the allotment of patches of garden ground, thus compelling the poorer members to get their potatoes at high prices from Lucerne and Zug.

The two corporations above mentioned make their own regulations independently, but they are subject to the Cantonal or Federal rules about the woods. Members who have no cows are entitled to a certain quantity of arable and meadow land. Members declining their share receive a money

* These scenes of violence were the main cause which led to the abolition of the Landsgemeinde of Schwyz in 1848.

equivalent of six francs. The marsh land which produces the reed, *Phragmites communis*, so valuable as litter, and afterwards as manure, is not divided, but let by auction to the highest bidder. Each member may send two cows on the home pastures (heimkuhweide), but the milk must not be used for making butter or cheese. The cow alps are occupied only by milk cows, cows in calf, and calves; the oxen have to go up higher. There are no fences except where there is private property. All cattle are allowed to use the alp in summer which were in the canton before March 15th. This easy condition enables small capitalists and land owners to avail themselves more of the alp. Young cattle bought previously to the above date are summered on the alp for export to Italy in autumn or the following year. No maximum number is fixed for "Altlandleute,"* but an increasing tax is levied.

In the Ober Allmend corporation, sons of members become privileged at the age of eighteen; in the Unter Allmend at seventeen, if resident in the commune for five months previous. On the father's death the son becomes privileged earlier. Widows and children, and also sisters of members, have shares, though the women's shares are less than the men's. Wood shares are only given to members who are householders, to be used and not sold. Members of either corporation living in the other, have reciprocal rights to wood and money shares.

In 1857 the tax for cows in Schwyz was fixed up to four cows at 2 francs 10 centimes each, from five to ten at 3 francs 50 centimes, from ten to twenty at 4 francs 50 centimes, from twenty to thirty at 5 francs 50 centimes, and above at 7 francs each. The money shares of members who had only one cow or none were raised to 8 francs. Those with two or three cows received half a share. Each member also received a share of wood worth 8 francs 50 centimes, or its value in money. In 1873 the taxes were again raised, cows up to ten paid 10 francs

* Members belonging to the old "Land" Schwyz.

each, from ten to twenty 15 francs each, and from twenty to thirty 20 francs each. The prices for other animals were also raised, new-comers to pay fifty per cent. more. The money shares were raised to 20 francs, and wood shares to 10 francs each.

At different times up to 1875 proposals have been made to divide the Allmend amongst the parishes, but all have been rejected; sometimes fines and degradation being threatened to any who should mention it. At the time of the Helvetic Republic, the democratic government in Schwyz declared both Beisassen and Hintersassen to be privileged, but soon after declared any concessions these classes received were matters of favour and not of right.

In Canton Uri a corporation was formed in very early times which owned most of the land. The communes, though having the charge of police, poor, &c., had until very recently no lands of their own. To this there were exceptions, such as Göschenen and Seelisberg, which were later additions to the canton. In 1803 the lower woods and parts of the arable land were apportioned amongst the communes, though the corporation still retains ownership and supervision. The alps and upper wood, which is very extensive, remain unassigned, and thus when privileged, a person belonging to one commune may use the alps in another. Uri and Urseren have generally reciprocal rights. In Uri a cattle tax was first imposed at the beginning of the present century, but only 33 schillings (1 franc 45 centimes) for a horse, and 15 schillings (66 ctmes.) for a cow, without any money distribution. This gave great advantages to the richer peasants. These had also a larger share of wood than the poorer members. After 1834, any member having less than four cows was allotted a patch of arable land (about half rood) free for a term of years. No cattle may be put on these plots, and they must not be used as meadow. But the benefits of use were very unequal. In 1875–76 the tax on each cow was raised to 5 francs, with increased rates for other animals. Urseren and other cantons had to pay double. Cattle brought

into the canton after St. Nicholas' Day (December 6th) to pay fourfold. Out of the proceeds, each member was to receive three francs, and the rest went to meet the land tax, and to effect improvements on the alp. Each member may put two cows, or one cow and one horse, on the home pastures. In Urseren four cows are allowed. As in Schwyz, the milk must not be made into butter or cheese. Cattle may not use either the upper or lower pastures unless in the canton before December 6th. This exclusion holds good even if the cattle are wintered on a person's own land. One cow however is allowed when a member has none. Cattle sold for export may not remain on the alp more than a week. No one may put more than twenty-five cows on the alp. Besides a payment in money, members receive shares of wood, charcoal, and lime. Each member has wood assigned to him by the forester, which he must cut between April and August, and remove within a year and a day. Widows and children of members, if having households, are entitled to use of the alp, and to wood shares. In recent times proposals have been made to divide the whole Allmend amongst the communes, but have been rejected by large majorities.

In Nidwald the uses of the Allmend are in the hands of corporations, each owning a district called locally "Uerti" or "Irti." Of these there are thirteen. The privileges in each are held by a few families. These decide on the admission of new members, but no such admission has been known for more than a century (1879). Privileged persons of either sex must (1) be born in wedlock, (2) be twenty-five years of age, (3) have households of their own, (4) have paid the Uerti tax. From Rule 3 sick and cripples were exempt if in charge of other persons: even criminals in gaol were allowed their privileges. In 1875 Rule No. 3 was abolished by a cantonal law, so that several brothers and sisters living together are privileged. Each member has a claim to a share of arable land and meadow, and of wood, and also to the use of the

alp. The lower pastures are restricted as much as possible, since there is not sufficient arable land to supply plots for all the members. A tax was therefore levied on each plot to compensate those who get none. This tax again the poorer members who had plots were unable to pay, and so the richer peasants accumulated many plots, and the same disputes occurred here for equalisation of the benefits of the use of Allmend. The rule about the admission of only wintered cattle to the alps in summer is not strictly observed. Hired cattle are sometimes allowed, and hay purchased out of the canton, but in these cases a higher tax is levied on the cattle. The huts on the alps in Nidwald are separate, each having its own pasture, enough for twenty to thirty cows. This is said to benefit the alp more than when they are crowded together. The money shares divided amongst the members vary much from 20 francs in Buren to as much as 100 in Stans and Buochs.

The privileged corporations in Nidwald (with the exception of Stans) have made over none of their property in Allmend to meet the wants of the whole community, and only contribute to these in the same degree as the unprivileged.

In Obwald the divisions of Allmend are called "Theilsame." Their uses are regulated by independent orders of the different corporations. They are granted for a term of years, and renewed if the conditions are properly observed.

The valley Allmend is almost exclusively made over to separate use, generally to all members indifferently, but in Kerns (Dorf) only to those who have no cattle to drive on the alp. The lots are of various sizes, from 580 square fathoms (about half acre) to 1390 square fathoms (1 acre 24 poles), and are as far as possible of the same quality. Where this cannot be managed each has several pieces of different sorts. The lots are to be used as gardens, and may not be used as pasture except by special permission.

In Giswyl, Sarnen, and Dorf lots are held in reserve in view

of an increase of population; elsewhere the new-comers have to wait for vacant lots. When lots are vacant those who have none draw lots for them. Those who receive none have first choice next time. Until that time they receive a money equivalent fixed by the communal council. The assignments are for life, but should the authorities, for the public interest, require a new division, and the present holders lose their plots, a moderate compensation is given (Giswyl) for improvements. When the plots are damaged, by inundation or other natural causes, compensation is given according to a scale. The boundaries are well marked, and revised periodically in Sachseln every ten years. After a division the lots may be exchanged amongst the holders for eight months. The sale or mortgage of lots is forbidden, and they may not be reckoned amongst the assets of the holder, should he become bankrupt.

In some communes (Sarnen, Sachseln, Giswyl, Dorf) the holders of lots may let them for a term of six years, if the council approve. But the sub-letting of portions is not allowed. In these four villages a small tax is levied on each of the lots when the finances show a deficit, in no case to exceed two francs per lot. If the tenants fail to do their duty by the land the Allmend bailiff is empowered to bring an action.

The parts of the valley Allmend which are unsuitable for division are planted with useful trees, such as oaks. Where the commune has valley pastures (heimkuhweide) each member may send on it one or two cows, which must be his own, unless he is very poor, in which case he may hire. The Voralpen (lower hill or spring alps) of Sachseln and of Kerns are let to members for periods of six years.

The alps are divided into "cow rights." They must be grazed by their own cattle, and not used for hay. The tenant has to pay a fixed rent, and to fulfil a number of conditions for the improvement of the alp and the buildings on it. The alps are let entire, or in divisions (platzen), of which no alp has more than three. The platzen may be exchanged or

made over to members who have not applied. The heirs of deceased tenants may (if privileged) use or let the platzen until the end of the term; if not privileged the platzen revert to the commune, and the heirs are compensated. The platzen also revert to the commune in case the tenant dies without heirs or becomes bankrupt. Only wintered cattle can go on the alp. These have to pay different sums—an ox 15 centimes, a cow 20, and a horse 30 centimes.* In some cases (Sachseln) horses and sheep are not allowed to go on to the upper alp, but a special alp is assigned for sheep and another for horses. Each sheep has to pay 15 centimes to the weibel (bailiff or town crier), and one franc to the shepherd. Sheep wintered on bought hay, and foreign sheep, each pay one franc extra to the treasurer of the commune (seckelmeister). The produce of these charges is applied partly to the improvement of the alps, and partly distributed amongst the members. In Kerns every male member over 16 receives 5 francs 70 centimes, males under 16 and females without distinction of age 4 francs 70 centimes. The Corporation treasury has also to meet the taxes imposed by the political commune for church, schools, poor, police, &c. As regards the woods, each family has a whole or a half share of the Bannwald and Hochwald,† the division not to injure the producing power of the wood. The wood allotted by the forester (waldvogt) must be cut and removed within a given time, or it reverts to the commune. Sometimes all the wood is cut by the forester and his assistants, and stacked in a given place, whence the members must remove it in a given time. Wood for building and repairing is only allowed by permission of the communal council; only to owners of property, and not even then if their property has been kept in bad repair. Wood for building must be used within three years, for repairing within fifteen months, and may

* These are very small compared with similar charges elsewhere.

† "Bannwald," a wood in which no cutting is allowed except by special direction. "Hochwald," the woods above a certain limit.

only be applied to the definite purpose for which it was obtained. A tax from 20 to 50 centimes is levied on each lot and of 5 centimes for each stem cut in the wood to maintain the roads. Widows and children of members retain privileges. Childless widows and spinsters retain one half-share.

Of late years many efforts have been made to diminish the excessive waste of wood. At one time no limit was fixed. But with very few exceptions (one of which is O. A. K. Schwyz) this has long been restricted. The allowance was fixed, and as wood grew scarcer still further restrictions were made. Formerly wood was allotted standing for each member to deal with as he liked, but now it is selected and carefully dealt with by proper officers. Every part is measured, and paid workmen are employed.

The shares of firewood allotted may be sold amongst members, but no one may deal with more than three. In some communes no wood grown in the commune is allowed to be taken out of it except käsespalen (frames for holding six cheeses one above the other) furniture, and cabinet work for export, wood for public buildings, and from old houses, which last must be exchanged only for tiles (ziegeln) and lime. New buildings on the valley Allmend must be built with wood from the builder's own lands, or from the portion allotted to him.

In Kerns no new building is allowed unless the builder undertakes to get half the wood from outside, or from his own woods, and to roof with tiles. When a water channel (wasserleiter) is to be made or renewed, the commune undertake part (one-fourth) of the cost if the person will use earthenware pipes instead of wood. The greatest help, however, to save the wood is given by proper replanting, and by preserving the young trees from injury by the goats. The goatherds are often careless, and they have far too many to look after. The large flocks of goats kept by the richer peasants should be restricted.

In Obwald the huts on the alps are arranged villagewise,

and the different herds (sennten) pasture together, whilst in Nidwald the huts and the pastures for each herd are separate.

In Sachseln, as early as the sixteenth century, although the rule was observed about wintering cattle, persons with less than ten were allowed to hire others to make up that number, and members with none might hire two, and send on the alp. Sometime the poorer members were allowed to sell (or let) their right to the well-to-do peasants. In some communes of Unterwalden the valley Allmend is used only for those members who send no cattle on the alp. Parts of the Allmend planted with corn or vines (this very small) are exempt from common use as pasture, and so its quality as Allmend is forgotten. Land is sometimes given for private use, with conditions of maintaining roads, &c. When these conditions are commuted for a yearly payment, or redeemed by paying a lump sum, the property becomes virtually private. Cases of this occur in Giswyl (Obwald), and in Stans and Ennetmoos (Nidwald). The communes have sought to hinder this by forbidding fences (so as to show the land was public property). Large portions of Allmend were divided for private use at end of the eighteenth and beginning of nineteenth century, on account of the misery caused by the war.

The valley of Engelberg, though incorporated with Obwald, has to a large extent the independent management of its Allmend. Here the valley Allmend is divided into plots, varying from 20 to 200 square fathoms ($2\frac{2}{3}$–$26\frac{2}{3}$ poles); for which a rent varying from 2 to 5 centimes per fathom is paid. This is for the poorer members. For the very poorest the rent is paid by the poor box. No one may sublet on pain of losing the lot. Each family may send twelve goats on the alp; single men, six. The animals must belong to the people of the valley, and must have been in the commune before March 15th. For these a tax of 3 schillings (13 centimes)

each is paid. Beyond twelve the tax for each is 40 schillings (1 franc 70 centimes). Of wood each family has a whole share, 1½ cubic fathoms (6 cubic yards); a single person half a share. These shares may be sold or exchanged; but no one is allowed to accumulate more than five shares. The members have also right to a share of wood for roofing (shingles). The division of wood for fencing (hagholz) is forbidden because of the insufficient supply.

In Canton Lucerne the Allmend is in the hands of a corporation which under general cantonal directions issues rules, which must, however, be approved by the administrative council (Regierungsrath). The property consists of woods, valley Allmend, alps, and other funds, which are hardly at all applied to public purposes. Parts of the property in the sixteenth century, and still more in the present century, have been divided amongst the members as private property. Unreclaimed parts of Allmend are divided amongst the poorer members to clear, clean, and have the use, free of expense, for two years. This was to help them in a time of difficulty. Land was given in the neighbourhood of the farmhouses (bauemhöfe), either as private property or for separate use. In the former case, if not paid for at the time, the value remains as a mortgage on the land, on which interest is paid. Every year at Christmas the interest is divided amongst the members. Every member who is thirty years of age before March 15 receives a full share; over sixteen, half a share; and under, a quarter of a share.

When the public lands were thus divided (1803) the corporation retained parts of the valley Allmend, out of which they supply the poorer members with plots on which to grow corn. In Lucerne this was an exceptional proceeding; but in some cantons it is the custom, as in Bern and Obwalden (Engelberg).

In Canton Lucerne in 1855 all citizens (bürger) were privileged at the age of seventeen, except clergy (ordens-

geistliche), persons settled out of the canton, or in foreign military service. However, in 1866, citizens who were out of Switzerland to learn art, science, or trade, or were privileged members of another canton, were not excluded unless they had another right of citizenship out of the canton. Here every member of the political commune who has property in the canton can become privileged by purchase. The sum paid varies with the advantages obtained.

When all the male inhabitants of the commune at the beginning of the present century received equal political rights, attempts were made to convert the property of the corporations to the use of the whole community. It was proposed that the political commune should purchase the Allmend, and that the interest on the purchase money, at four per cent., should be divided amongst the members. The corporations refused this proposal, but in various cases made concessions, both making admission more easy and contributing more to the general expenses.

These corporations are bodies whose origin in many cases is quite indefinite, though in some cases they have been formed quite recently. Sometimes they are temporary, as in Canton Uri, where the corporation is formed each year of all persons who wish to use the alp. The rights on corporation alps are of very unequal value. In the decade 1860–1870, they varied from 2 francs to 300 francs. To avoid excessive sub-division, as well as multiplication of rights, a minimum was fixed of a quarter of a kuhessen, and a maximum of 24 to 32 kuhessen. The corporations differ from ordinary companies, in that alienation of rights to third parties, and dissolution of the society by resolution of a majority, are forbidden. Frequently disputes have arisen as to rights between the corporations and the rest of the political body, and the existence of such bodies in the midst of the political communes, independent of them, and contributing but little

in proportion to their wealth to the public wants, is an anomaly that needs reform.

The following remarks, though applying in a way to all the four Forest Cantons, are more especially true in relation to the cantons of Uri and Unterwalden, in which a large number of the valleys terminate in mountains, which either approach nearly to 10,000 feet, or exceed that height, and where the alpine pastures rise proportionately higher than elsewhere.

The Allmend pastures in these higher regions, though all have an equal right to them, are more especially beneficial to the poorer classes, since parts of the upper mountain slopes are allotted to such, either for the pasturing of goats, or for mountain hay (wildheu). The places on which this hay is gathered are the wild and often rugged slopes between 5,000 and 7,000 feet, and the harvest is attended with no small toil, difficulty, and even danger. Accidents to life and limb are not infrequent. Sometimes even these out-of-the-way pastures are jealously withheld by the well-to-do peasants, when the Allmend pastures are scanty; and even when they are granted it is in the same way as poor people are allowed to glean in the cornfield or to gather sticks in the woods. This hay harvest lasts but a short time. The harvesters are small peasants (who have no cattle), day labourers, occasionally a chamois hunter, weavers, carvers, and other village artisans. The "wildheu" right benefits a different class to the pasture right; and so there are frequent disputes as to the line which divides the pastures where cows can go, and the steep places (bösenen) where they cannot. The rich peasant with a herd of from thirty to forty cows will not abate a fraction of his right to the poor "wildheuer," who has perhaps only a single goat. These "hay" allotments (if not let out to the highest bidder) are either divided amongst the members, or each is allowed to mow where he likes. The right is, however, in general only exercised by the poorer. There is a fixed date for beginning. In Uri, it was formerly September 1st, but now August 10th; in Schwyz,

August 10th; in Obwald, August 3rd. On the appointed day, the members start at midnight with scythes and steigeisen,* in order to arrive at the ground by daybreak with their assistants, who are either members of their own families, or others hired at 2 to 3 francs per day. The ground is then divided by the householder (or by the hirer). In Uri, only one assistant is allowed; in Sachseln more, but no proxy. Where the ground is not partitioned out before hand, either the hill is divided according to custom amongst the persons present, or the first comer takes what part he likes, not free from the risk of being dispossessed by a stronger: a primitive state of things where right is not right unless backed by might. Sheep and goats must be kept away from these "mountain hay" slopes, and the hay must be used in the commune; so that what is lost on the hill may benefit the plain land.

Equally important to the poorer peasant is the pasture for sheep and goats. In the latter case especially in districts where (as in Glarus,) there are many workmen, in order to provide milk for the household. In cantonal legislation the goats have been sometimes excluded, sometimes admitted, out of regard to the poor, since the pasturing of goats injured the alp and the woods.

The matter has generally ended in a compromise, but the rights of pasture are limited as far as possible. The goats are confined to parts where the larger cattle cannot go. Sometimes, however, a part of the common cow alp is assigned to them, a strong line of demarcation being drawn between their pasture and that of the other cattle. Sometimes they are only allowed on the cow alp after the cows have left, and are also excluded from the home pastures between May and St. Verena's day, Sept. 1st (Canton Schwyz).

In almost all cantons are herds of goats, which are driven daily to certain pastures appointed by the commune. These alps may belong to private persons, but they are subject to

* Crampons.

certain customary rights by the commune (servituden—as are found also in Tyrol). It is said that the goat pastures might be much restricted without injuring the poorer classes, since by far the larger number of goats belong to the richer peasants, who have herds varying in number from twenty to sixty, whilst the poorer seldom have more than two or three; and if the larger flocks were restricted, the damage done to growing wood would be very much diminished, whilst the poor would retain their present advantages.

The waste of the woods which prevailed in the earlier times was hardly to be credited. Unrestricted cutting of wood and rights of pasture were allowed, and no value seemed to be set on the wood at all. There is an instance of one commune which, wishing for pasture land in place of a wood, endeavoured to burn the wood down. They failed on three occasions to do this. One of the peasants then offered to clear it if they would let him have the wood; but this was declined, and the wood remained standing. Between 1830–40 it was at last sold for 7,000 gulden, and had they waited six months more they might have got 20,000 gulden. Now all that is changed. The greatest care is taken in restricting pasture, in replanting, in strictly limiting and defining the quantity of wood to be cut, &c.

And the same course will presently have to be pursued with respect to the alpine pastures. Year by year they gradually become deteriorated in various ways—not only in quantity, but in quality. This process will go on in an increasing ratio.

Within the last twenty or thirty years the capacity of the alps has largely diminished. When the alps of Glarus were first "gestuhlt" (*i.e.* divided into "kuhessen"), there were 12,000 stoss;* now the same alps will not accommodate more than 9,000, and the same is the case elsewhere. And it is not to be wondered at. Every storm in summer, every frost in winter, brings down from the upper heights masses of rock that cover

* Stoss = kuhessen or cowright.

spots before fertile. The former neglect of the woods makes this process easier when the rain-water rushes down in a destructive flood, instead of being gently distributed over the surface; and when the avalanches, no longer restrained by the protecting wood, threaten destruction, the slopes once fertile become furrowed, the earth slips away and leaves the bare rock exposed. This cannot all be hindered, but much may be done. The stones may be to a large extent cleared away, the quality of the pasture improved by sowing nutritious grasses and extirpating useless ones; the ground should be carefully manured, wet spots should be drained and dry ones supplied with water, and dykes built to save buildings from the effects of avalanches. Systematic improvement is difficult, since each of the members has not the strong direct interest he would have if sole occupier.

Of trade and manufactures there is but little in the Forest Cantons, except in the northern half of Canton Lucerne. The occupation of the inhabitants is almost wholly pastoral. They are concerned almost solely with cattle and their products.

The breeding and rearing of cattle is carried on with far more care and attention than formerly. Much improvement has been effected by annual exhibitions and prizes. Of these Schwyz has carried off many. The race of cattle for which Schwyz is distinguished is of middle size, chestnut-brown, with short feet and thin skin. This kind is now bred in Schwyz (Rigi), in the southern half of Canton Lucerne, in Unterwalden, and the northern half of Uri. The colour varies from brown to clear mouse-gray, almost silver-gray: it is noted for abundance of milk, strength, and endurance, as well as for its capability of acclimatisation. The weight varies from 11 to 16 cwt. The peasants are very particular, and have a whole category of distinctions which a cow must possess to please them. Grey and cream-grey are favourite colours. The cow must not change her colour during the summer: she must

have a black muzzle, white ears, and white regularly-shaped horns, with black tips, and a short head. A cow without all or any of these qualities may be worth £5 to £6; with them the price varies from £20 to £24, and has been known to reach £32. The chief export of these is to Italy: the cattle generally four years old (they must exceed two), and they are driven in the autumn in herds of thirty together to Bellinzona, Lugano, and even to Milan.

Uri has in proportion to its size the greatest number of cattle. Here two kinds of cattle are bred, one for the Lower and one for the Upper Reussthal. The former are heavy cattle, weighing from four and five cwt. and upwards. The latter are fine limbed, of a pale white-grey colour, seldom exceeding three to four cwt., and climb like goats. Large numbers of these also go to market in Italy. These are generally bull calves, two to four year old bulls, three year old cows, and cows in calf. The principal market is Lugano.

Butter and cheese are made in great quantities and of many varieties. Unterwalden is renowned for its small cheeses (brat-käsli) weighing 30 lbs. each. The cheeses of Urseren are generally worth 30 per cent. more than the famous Emmenthaler. Exports of cheese go from all the four cantons to Italy.

Uri is the only canton entirely without manufactures. There is a dynamite factory at Isleten, on the lake of Lucerne. Schwyz and Unterwalden have still some handworkers in silk on the Rigi and in the Engelbergthal.

They both, though in a less degree than Lucerne, have cotton manufactures, which they export to Italy and elsewhere.

Lucerne also manufactures and exports linen.

Cattle are imported into all the cantons for consumption, but largely to rear for re-exportation.

The other imports are chiefly food stuffs or articles of luxury.

The trade in crystals and other minerals is always active, and has occasionally risen to a remarkable height when great

discoveries have been made, such as in the Zinkenstock (Grimsel) in 1719, and on the Tiefenstock in 1868. The valley of the Kreuzli Pass has yielded many fine specimens, and of late years the mountains at the head of the Göschenen Thal have been very productive. Besides ordinary quartz crystals, smoky quartz (rauchtopaz) is not unfrequently found in abundance, as well as other rare minerals.

Trade was formerly much impeded by the various duties levied by the separate cantons, but since 1850 a uniform tariff prevails for all the Confederation.

CHAPTER VII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

THE spirit of modern progress has produced many changes in Switzerland in external things. Along with the change from aristocratic to democratic forms of government, with the equalization of rights in town and country, with increased trade and improved communications, with the influx of strangers, many of the old ways have disappeared. In nothing has the change been more remarkable than in the matter of dress. Whereas formerly almost every class in town and country wore a distinctive dress, now fashion is everywhere triumphant, and has almost entirely effaced the old distinguishing marks. Now and then in the towns an old woman may be seen in an astonishing cap, a bridal couple, or a servant fresh from the country may be conspicuous for peculiar dress. Cantonal or local costumes are more frequently to be seen in the Hill Cantons, where the spirit of conservatism is strong, and a love of old customs is still retained. In the Forest Cantons the women wore their hair either woven round a silver pin, often in the shape of a double spoon, or rolled up in a knot in the same way as Tacitus describes the headdress of the Alamannians. No hat, the neck without a collar, either bare or covered with a handkerchief. The body and skirt of the dress were separate, the latter reaching to the ankle. The shape of the silver pin varied in married women and girls, as also the mode of dressing the hair and covering it, but these distinctions have almost gone out of use. The men universally

wore short hair, which now is seen only occasionally in old men and the clergy; the waistcoat, generally scarlet, with silver or silvergilt buttons.

In old times the men of Schwyz wore long trousers, coats (or waistcoats) with sleeves, open down the front, and very short, reaching only to the hips. They wore whiskers, but not beards, and the hair was cut short. A cap or hat of thick cloth, with a plate on which stood a tuft of feathers, covered the head. The women wore a short coat, the lower part of which was set with ribbons, a narrow apron with broad stripes. The coat was close-fitting, and fastened in front with buttons; the sleeves were close-fitting down to the wrist, but cut and puffed at the elbows and shoulders. Unmarried women wore their hair with only a wreath or a ribbon. Married women wore a linen cap ornamented with lace, which stood up in front. They wore red woollen stockings, and shoes with high heels. Men of wealth wore ruffs and girdles ornamented with silver, the women chains of silver (sometimes of gold) and necklaces. After a time the mode of dress changed in the same way as in the neighbouring cantons. Short hose came into fashion probably towards the end of last century, and the long trousers were regarded as a distinguishing mark of traitors, almost as much so as the tricolour cockade. At this time no doubt the Lands were strongly prejudiced against the new-fangled Constitutions introduced by the French, and were irritated by the loss of their subject lands.

In 1798 the Landsgemeinde of Schwyz issued a decree forbidding the use of French fashions, and the use of the toupée and high heeled shoes by the women. The short hose were made of leather, generally calf skin, but sometimes of chamois or buck skin. The men's dress was completed by a scarlet waistcoat and a blue jacket (formerly brown). This last reached to the knees, and was open in front so as to show the scarlet waistcoat. This fashion has again changed. The short hose and the scarlet waistcoat have disappeared, and long

trousers of twill or wool, and short jackets, are worn in their stead. The women's dress has also changed, even in the remotest valleys. The magazines of fashion have reached the most outlying houses. The distinguishing headdress of women and girls has alone remained. This for the girls is a small black cap, for married women a white cap. These were formerly different in shape, but now only vary slightly from each other. There are in each two strips of lace standing upright, which come from behind over the head, and meet on the forehead, giving the whole the appearance of a butterfly with wings half spread. Between these the girl's hair is puffed up and held together by a silver (or silvergilt) pin, often called "rosennadel," from its head resembling a half-opened rose. In married women the hair is similarly puffed up, but is covered with a piece of richly-embroidered silk, sometimes (though rarely) adorned with artificial flowers. Sometimes a cap of extraordinary shape (schwabenhaube) is worn, resembling the outspread tail of a turkey cock, so large that the woman wearing it can neither look out of the window, nor rest her head sideways. When such were worn in the church neither choir nor priest could be seen by those behind. In the outer districts of Schwyz, the March and the Höfe (on the Lake of Zürich) there has been but little peculiarity in dress. A remarkable cap, called "höfnerhaube," was worn by old women and poor people, but has now quite died out.

The members of the council of the canton formerly wore scarlet mantles, and in the 18th century wigs. Latterly scarlet is only worn by beadles, messengers, and sacristans. The cantonal messengers, on great occasions, such as the meeting of the Landsgemeinde, wore coat, waistcoat, and breeches of scarlet. The coat was open in front, and was made to fall in thick folds. It had four sleeves, two of which hung unused, supposed to be an imitation of the dress of the Roman lictors. The official dress in court or council chamber is not much different from that of ordinary citizens—a black suit, with the

addition of a black mantle. The beadle, however, of the council is always dressed in the cantonal colours. The inhabitants of Goldau (overwhelmed in 1806) were reputed to be the most simple in dress of all the Canton Schwyz. Rich and poor alike wore dresses of the same cut and of the same material. Two daughters of one of the most wealthy inhabitants are said to have been exactly of the same size, and to have had only one best dress, which was worn by them alternately. When one went to mass at Arth on a festival, the other waited at home for her sister's return, to put on the dress and go to Arth in her turn.

In Canton Unterwalden the men of Obwald formerly wore short hose, a waistcoat of black twill, and a jacket reaching to the knees, with a broad leather girdle. The hair was parted in front, turned back behind the ears, and cut off in a round at the back, similar to the men of Nidwald, and also of Entlebuch. Now the dress is more comformable to the ordinary style. The dress of the women has in it but little peculiarity. It is sober, and the colours are seldom gay. The hair is woven in plaits, and fastened by the girls with a spoon-shaped pin, and by the married women covered with something between the old cap and the modern hat, with a kind of comb of lace at the top.

In Nidwald the men formerly wore close-fitting breeches of blue stuff, hardly reaching above the hips (like the men of Appenzell), over which the stockings were drawn, and fastened to the breeches by ribbons, whilst the breeches were secured to the waistbelt by sky-blue strings; a red body or waistcoat, under which was a leathern girdle with date; the arms were in wide sleeves. A yellow hat, with peacock's feathers and bows of ribbon, covered the head.

The women formerly wore red coats and stockings. The front of the bodice was made stiff, like a board, adorned with flowers and silver ornaments, and compressed the breast in an unseemly way. They had silver chains round the neck, and

on the head a cap with large open-work, a three-cornered hat, and a long pipe in the mouth.

The women in the towns were distinguished from the peasant women by wearing corsets, and having their hair interwoven with white strings instead of red.

French fashions now prevail in Nidwald, especially in Stans, but not in Obwald. In both most peculiarities have disappeared, except the way of dressing the hair.

The herdsmen of Obwald and Nidwald, as also in Uri, when on the alps, wear a long garment resembling a smock-frock, reaching to the calf, called in Uri "futterhemd," and in Unterwalden "hirtenhemd." In Obwald also the herdsmen not unfrequently use a jacket made of the skin of a goat, with the hair outside, which affords an excellent protection against cold or storm.

In Canton Uri the old modes of dress were very similar to those in the other Lands. Now all that is peculiar has disappeared, except the different ways in which married women and girls wear their hair. The women of Isenthal and Seelisberg follow the fashions of the adjoining Nidwald. Those of Urseren and the Upper Reussthal follow more the fashion of Italy, wrapping the head in a handkerchief like a veil. In the Lower Reussthal and in the Schächenthal the men wear short jackets and trousers, or short hose of grey cloth of their own making.

The peasant women of Uri, when haymaking, wear an original but practical costume—thick woollen short hose, half stockings (without feet), a long jacket, and a red cloth round the head, which makes them look like Esquimaux.

Throughout the Forest Cantons the herdsmen wear commonly sandals of maple wood, fastened to the feet, which are bare, by leathern straps. In the mountain districts beards are not often worn, whilst in other parts they are more common.

In Canton Lucerne there were different costumes in different

parts. In the town of Lucerne, and in the plain part of the canton, the men formerly wore wide trousers, a waistcoat, a woollen coat without buttons, and a conical hat. In the country a long red shirt was worn sometimes, and a straw hat. In the town changes took place much faster, and both men and women began to dress after the French fashion.

The different way of dressing the hair by girls and married women remained longest, but even that has long since disappeared.

Up to the end of last century the peasants in the plain part of the canton wore a red (or bright blue) coat, a red waistcoat, worn wide open, but with strings to draw it together, blue breeches reaching to the hips, and white stockings up to the knees, and fastened with a black leather strap over the breeches, a loose black necktie, a broad felt hat with a round top, and shoes with red laces. These fashions have long since disappeared, and all dress like the townsmen. The girls formerly wore their hair in two tails, fastened with ribbons reaching to the ankles. The dress was composed of a jacket, reaching to the knees, of several different colours—brown, green, and yellow—and fastened with red strings; a body with a yellow front, fastened with green strings; a variegated front of velvet (or bordered with velvet) was fastened by lace strings to the jacket; the stockings were white and the hat yellow, adorned with flowers and ribbons; an ornament of filigree work, or a cross of gold or silver, according to the wearer's means, was worn round the neck.

The married women were distinguished by wearing a cap covered with a woollen hat, black jacket and body, and red stockings. But these distinctions have disappeared. Jacket, body, and stockings are now all black, and the yellow hat is replaced by a black satin cap. The women of the richer families are now in no way to be distinguished from their sisters in the towns.

In Weggis, an outlying part of the canton, at the base of the

Rigi, which would seem more properly to belong to Schwyz, the modes of dress have varied with the changes in that canton. At present both men and women dress much like those in the town.

In the Entlebuch the men wore a brown jacket of coarse woollen cloth made in the country, a red or brown waistcoat, brown or blue breeches, to which the stockings were fastened under the knees, over which they were drawn, laced shoes, and a cap with red stripes, or a plain hat; sometimes both of these at once.

The women wore a dark brown jacket, a black or brown necktie—the bodice for married women was black, for girls green, red, or brown—a blue apron, a woollen undercoat, edged with velvet or red ribbons, red (later white) stockings, and laced shoes. The married women wore a white flat cap, and a black woollen hat; the unmarried a yellow hat decorated with flowers and ribbons. But in modern times the dress here also approximates much to the fashion of the towns.

The houses in the Forest Cantons were in former times alike in town and country. Originally they were built entirely of wood, with small rooms and narrow windows set with little round panes. In the town of Lucerne the danger of fires, and the serious losses incurred by them, led to the substitution of stone houses.

Sometimes the freedom of the city was only granted to applicants for it on condition of their building a stone house; and frequently the stone for building was given by the council to all who undertook to build stone houses. So the wooden houses have long ago entirely disappeared from the town of Lucerne. In the country, on the other hand, they still remain, but in a different form. Instead of being built entirely of wood, the foundation and the walls (at least in the front part of the house), to a height of six or eight feet, are of masonry. Upon this the upper storeys of wood are raised. In the lower part are cellars; above these, in front, are the living and bed-

rooms; behind, the kitchen, storerooms, threshing-floor, and stables. On either side of the upper floor there is an outer gallery. In Entlebuch this runs all round the house. The roof generally projects widely in front, but only slightly at the back and ends of the house. In the older houses the roof is covered with large pine shingles, kept in their places by heavy stones, in the case of newer houses with tiles. The cantonal regulation insists on this in the lower communes, and in those lying higher up strongly recommend it, and the insurance societies of Lucerne stipulate for tiled or slated roofs, and in the case of buildings in remote situations only allow roofs of thatch or shingle when the local authorities have given permission. They insist also on the kitchen having a stone chimney, which must rise two to four feet above the roof, and the old-fashioned wooden smoke catchers are quite forbidden. The farmhouses in the Forest Cantons are mostly of the same type. They are perhaps seen to most advantage in the Canton Unterwalden, and especially in the half-canton Obwalden. Seldom are houses to be seen handsomer, cleaner, or more commodious than here. The front of the houses generally looks to the south-east. The first floor contains the principal living-room, and a smaller one; the largest bedroom reserved for the use of the elders; and the kitchen. The smaller living-room is generally the favourite apartment, in which the prettiest and most valued household objects are collected, to which they repair to discuss family secrets, or in times of trouble to open their hearts in prayer before the image of their crucified Saviour. The upper story contains the other bedrooms. Above these, under the roof, is a store-room for dried provisions, and other objects. The living apartments are often handsomely panelled, and the walls adorned with pictures of saints, or of favourite clergy. A clock (from the Black Forest) is generally to be found, and the holy-water vase by the door is never wanting. The garden by the house is planted with old-fashioned, but favourite flowers, and on the front of the house

a pear tree, and in the warmer districts sometimes a vine, is trained up to the roof. Between the windows is not unfrequently a fresco, which in Obwald is generally that of the sainted Nicholas von der Flue. Sometimes, especially in Canton Uri, the windows are so close together as to occupy almost the whole side of the house. The shutters are then made to slide into an opening in the woodwork below. Above each row of windows, at the ends of the house, run small separate roofs, as a protection in stormy weather.

The houses in Unterwalden are distinguished for cleanliness above the other cantons. In this respect Canton Uri ranks the lowest, the houses in the Reussthal and Urseren being often smoke-blackened and dirty, though they are cleaner in the communes which are on the Lake of Lucerne.

In the hill part of Canton Lucerne are often found houses which are protected from the weather on the exposed sides by rows of small shingles, rounded at the end, and overlapping each other.

In Canton Uri there is often attached to the ceiling of the living-room, above the table, a movable wooden rod, or a wooden chain, from which the lamp is suspended; and in the middle of the room, depending by a string from the ceiling, is a rude figure of a dove, representing the third person of the Trinity.

In a country like Switzerland, where the breeding of cattle is so extensively carried on, it might be expected that meat would be extensively and commonly used. But it is not so, except in the towns. While many use but little meat, for want of means, many well-to-do families, especially the farmers, refrain from it from old habits and from motives of economy. On festive occasions, visits of friends, however, it is lavishly exhibited, and roast pork is offered even with the morning's coffee.

The principal articles of food are potatoes, which are extensively grown; dried fruits—apples and pears—which

are generally divided into four and dried, and with a store of which every farmhouse is supplied. But, above all, milk and its products—butter, cheese, &c.—are consumed, especially in the hill districts. The value of these products which are consumed in Switzerland is estimated at £4,000,000. Bread is, of course, largely used; but in many cases it is replaced by dried fruit, or by the products of milk, such as curds. Buttermilk, with bread or potatoes, often forms the midday meal; and at all meals cheese is exhibited.

From cream many delicate dishes are produced, which the herdsmen on the alps prepare for their friends, of which the dwellers in towns have no idea. For instance, in Uri, sweet cheesecurds, stewed in cream, and then baked with fresh butter.

Before the introduction of coffee soup was the regular morning's meal. Now the use of coffee is universal, and coffee not unfrequently appears at all meals. The coffee which is offered on an alp by the senner to an honoured guest is such as the best hotel could not produce, the finest coffee being put direct into the boiling cream.

The most marked feature in the character of the inhabitants of the Forest Cantons is the sense of independence. Occupied as they are almost entirely with cattle breeding and pastural pursuits, they are seldom inclined, even if they have spare time, to follow any other occupation. They regard the artisan as being in a position of dependence, and prefer to produce their own food to obtaining it by working for others. They are, however, extremely desirous of obtaining offices in the canton, which, however poorly paid, are positions of influence. Also, when once in office, they afterwards retain the title, Rathsher (member of council) Landamman, which gives them dignity and importance.

The inhabitants of Uri, above the others, are grave and conscientious, insomuch that Uri has been called the conscience of Switzerland. Though their amusements are often noisy,

they seldom terminate in strife. The hard life of this pastoral people, and their struggle with nature on the alps, gives them confidence and self-reliance.

Though the feeling of family responsibility is not perhaps so strong in the Forest Cantons as in some parts of Switzerland, yet great importance is attached to it. As in the Highlands of Scotland, so a native of Schwyz would be asked, not what his name, but what his clan was. These clans were so extended that a law was passed forbidding more than one member of a clan (geschlecht) to sit in court or council. The clan meetings were all powerful in forwarding the interests of its members; but they were also the cause of much scandal. In them conspiracies might be hatched; and, if strongly reactionary, all useful reforms might be opposed. These clans or families are still to be found, as in Schwyz those of Reding and Schorno, in Unterwalden, Moos and Deschwänden, in Lucerne, Pfyffer and Balthasar.

The sense of the responsibility attached to the heads of families has in a way affected marriages in Switzerland. More consideration is given to the means of supporting a household, and consequently there are not so many early marriages, and not so many love matches. As the communes have to maintain their own poor, the local authorities used to do their best to prevent poor families growing up amongst them. The rules of many cantons required newly-married couples to contribute a certain sum to the poor box. The communes used also to refuse consent to marriages if the parties have (1) received relief from the rates without repaying such relief; (2) if there is a likelihood of their coming on the rates; (3) if they have no fortune and no occupation to enable them to maintain a family; (4) if they were persons of proved irregular habits. These restrictions hindered the marriage of the lower and poorer classes without stemming the tide of immorality. In Canton Lucerne there were fewer marriages and more children born out of wedlock in proportion to population than

in any other canton. These restrictions have been removed by the new Constitution of 1874. Though Switzerland compares favourably with other states of Continental Europe, this is largely owing to the fact of many marriages taking place shortly before the birth of the child, which is thereby legitimatized. This state of things again is owing to the old custom which extensively prevails, especially in Entlebuch and Obwalden, of the "Kiltgang," the visits by night (allowed by the parents) of a lover to the girl he is courting. In many villages the younger portion of the male inhabitants form a kind of vigilance committee, to prevent the well-to-do girls from being carried off by outsiders, in which class even the inhabitants of the nearest village are reckoned. All the youths, as soon as they reach the proper age, are affiliated to this society, generally by paying for a certain quantity of wine. The lovers in the village who belong to this society have the password, pay their visits, and climb to the windows of their fair ones unmolested. But the stranger who comes courting must either make his way unobserved by a devious and possibly dangerous route, or has to fight his way through.

Closely connected with the "Kiltgang" is the "Maienstecken." In Canton Lucerne the lover, anxious to do honour to his mistress, plants before her home on the first day of May a small pine-tree richly adorned with ribbons. This is regarded as a great proof of devotion, and the girl and her parents entertain him bountifully.

Other less acceptable attentions are paid by the "Nachtbuben" to girls who hold their heads too high, or to parents who look for higher matches than the village circle affords. A straw puppet is suspended before the girl's window, or the farmer's best waggon is found upside down on the village green.

Dancing was once an universal Sunday amusement, but is now limited by law to a few days in the year. Mostly these are the days of the annual market, of the rifle shooting, of the

dedication of a church, or of a marriage. In Obwald dancing is forbidden from the Whitsun Emberweek to that in September, on all Sundays and festivals of Mary (days dedicated to the Virgin Mary), in Advent and Lent, as well as during storms. In Canton Lucerne dancing is never allowed on a Friday, Saturday, or Sunday. These rules are relaxed in Canton Schwyz and Lucerne, so that the visitors at hotels or bathing establishments can have a ball or dancing *soirée* whenever they wish. A peculiar dance called "gäuerlen" still prevails in Canton Schwyz, in which the exertions of the dancers are so violent that a dance rarely lasts more than three minutes.

In this canton are only five public days in the year when dancing is allowed—three during the carnival, one on the annual church festival, and one on the day of the last rifle match.

The vigilance committee above referred to, though often productive of disorderly scenes, has yet some good points. They wage continual war against all persons of ill-fame, and in various social difficulties, family quarrels, &c. express their opinions so persistently and forcibly, as often to bring about a solution of the difficulty. On the "Hirsmontag," in Entlebuch (the last Monday in Carnival), a scene is displayed which resembles the "Haberfeldtreiben" in Bavaria, which was put down by force some years ago. On this day a messenger from one of the villages appears on horseback in another village, horse and rider both fantastically caparisoned. The villagers expect his arrival, and after mass the "Platz"* is filled with a curious crowd from all the neighbourhood. The messenger rates the village generally for their bad behaviour, and concludes with an allegory, in which, whilst describing a convent, a mill, or a game at cards, most of the families are referred to by name; those of bad character being left to the last; and many an error which the doer thought quite secret is brought to the light of day. The disclosures are followed by the crowd with

* Village square.

the utmost interest, since, in so limited a circle, the persons so gibbetted are known to everyone present. In the Haberfeld-treiben, this used to be done at night, from the summit of a rock, or some prominent point near the village; but here it is read out at mid-day. After the reading of the "Hirsbrief" came the "Stoss." Two select bodies of the young men of either village, linked closely together in a compact body, would charge each other. Instead of a "tug" it was a "push" of war. Not unfrequently, the foremost rows were lifted quite off the ground, and sometimes rendered insensible; when one side or the other, either by sheer strength or some dexterous manœuvre, gained an advantage, the umpires shouted "halt," and both sides ceasing their strife went hand in hand to the sound of music to the village inns, and spent the evening together in festivity. This general combat is now fallen into disuse, and is replaced by single encounters—wrestling, putting the stone, &c., at the Schwingfeste. These are held on certain days, on which the men of Entlebuch and Obwalden contend with the men of Hasli or with each other. They take place on some open meadow which has long been used for the purpose, and the herdsmen with their wives and families make the day a holiday.

In wrestling, the mode of taking hold is totally different from that practised either in Cumberland or Cornwall. The combatants strip to their shirts and hose; the latter are made of twill, rolled round to double and treble thickness at the waist and at the knees. The right hand of each wrestler grasps the waistband, the left the right kneeband, of his adversary; the head of each looks over the other's shoulder, whilst the legs are kept apart, and the left leg as far back as possible. There are a number of different modes of attack, which have as many parries; one attack is often the parry to another.

Marriages, baptisms, and funerals are occasions of much feasting. All these were once on a time used for purposes of

bribery by persons desirous of office, until at last a decree was passed fixing a maximum expenditure, which was not to be exceeded.

Then there are various special occasions. The carnival time is held in great honour by the townsmen of Lucerne, with continual dances and masquerades. On the last Thursday in the carnival, takes place the famous procession called "Fritschi-umzug," originally a procession held by the guild Safran.* It received its present name at the end of the fifteenth century, from an old soldier belonging to the guild, who had served in the Burgundian wars, and was famous alike for valour and wit. He visited the winehouses seldom, but never failed on the Thursday to attend the guild festival, until at last both the guild and the day were named after him. He presented them with the large drinking cup of boxwood, inlaid with silver, which every year is produced at the festival of the Safran guild. The procession became afterwards a display of the military strength of the town, every ablebodied man being expected to join it in full equipment. In later years it degenerated into a mere masquerade. Curious stories are told of the person or figure representing Brother Fritschi, being abducted for a friendly purpose; on one occasion by the Three Lands, on another by the town of Basel; and when Lucerne went to fetch him back again, their messengers were royally entertained, and the old friendship cordially renewed.

The procession called the "Romfahrt," which takes place in Lucerne every year on the eve of the festival of "Unser Lieb Frau" (March 25th), was instituted about 1250 A.D. It took the place of a yearly deputation, which went to Rome to return thanks for the deliverance of the town in a great fire. The expenses of this were found so great, that, by the pope's permission, the procession was substituted. On this day all the clergy of the town and neighbourhood went in procession round the outer line of towers. On the Museg

* See Chapter xii.

the papal bull was read, and a learned priest delivered an address in German and Latin. This function was attended by an immense crowd from all parts. The wine and cider houses were on this occasion permitted to take in lodgers, but many spent the night on the covered bridges. The procession still takes place, but the concourse of spectators has much diminished.

A miracle play used to be performed in Lucerne every five years, on the Wednesday and Thursday after Easter, which dates from 1450 A.D. It took place in the fish and wine market.

The town council set up the scaffolding, and offered board and lodging free to visitors. In 1583 the cost amounted to nearly 1000 gulden, a great sum for those days. Probably for this cause amongst others the Easter play was discontinued early in the seventeenth century.

In some of the larger villages in Canton Lucerne, but especially in the market town of Münster, a peculiar function takes place on Ascension-day. All persons who have horses attend, and go in procession two and two, headed by the clergy and the municipal council, all likewise on horseback, from the town to the castle, where a priest on horseback delivers the first sermon. They then go round various villages and farms to Rickenbach, where a second sermon is preached. A great concourse of people on foot follow the procession. In 1825 there were 302 horsemen, and the spectators were estimated at upwards of 8000. This function, like many of the others, is falling into desuetude.

The great events which laid the foundation of Swiss freedom are religiously commemorated by the Forest Cantons. On the spot where each of these events took place, there stands a memorial chapel. For centuries the men of Uri, headed by their Landamman and council, on the first Friday after Ascension-day, have gone in formal order, with crosses and banners, to the Tell's Chapel, on the Bay of Uri, to do

honour to the hero who, according to popular tradition, struck the first blow for his country's freedom. So the men of Schwyz celebrate the victory of Morgarten each year on the Sunday after St. Martin's-day. On September 25th, 26th, 27th, 1815, the fifth centenary of the battle was celebrated with especial pomp.

Every year, on July 9th, the anniversary of the battle of Sempach, various members of the council of Lucerne, many clergy, and a crowd of citizens, repair to the memorial chapel on the battle-field, where, after mass is over, an oration is delivered, relating the events of the battle, which was won by the self-devotion of Arnold von Winkelried, and specially commending by name the mayor and the fifty-one men of Lucerne who fell on that glorious day.

Since the days of Tell, and probably earlier, the use and practice of shooting, first with the crossbow, and afterwards with the rifle, has been the delight of every Swiss. There are rifle societies in nearly every village. There are local, cantonal, and national shooting matches. These last date from very early times, one having taken place in Lucerne as early as 1452 A.D. They languished in the eighteenth century, but have again flourished in the present century. The first great national rifle contest took place in 1824 at Aarau, when about 15,000 francs (£600) were given in prizes. Since that time the contest has taken place every two years at different towns. An immense amount of money is contributed from all quarters, and as much as £16,000 has been given in prizes on some occasions. In no canton is rifle practice more zealously carried on than in Canton Schwyz. This canton was, on August 1st, 1891, the scene of a festival of peculiar interest, being the sixth centenary of the conclusion of the Eternal League by the Three Lands in 1291. The townhall of Schwyz was decorated for the purpose with new frescoes of scenes from Swiss history by the painter Ferdinand Wagner, of Munich.

Amongst the numerous musical and gymnastic societies which have recently arisen in Switzerland, the Forest Cantons are not distinguished; in the latter, indeed, they may be said to have no part at all.

Of the four cantons Lucerne is the most populous, and by far the wealthiest, if we may judge by the relative amounts invested in the savings banks. Whilst Lucerne, with a population of 130,000, had 14½ millions of francs invested (£580,000), Schwyz, with 47,000, had only 740,000 francs (£29,600), Unterwalden, with 26,000, only 330,000 francs (£13,200), and Uri, with 16,000, only 315,000 (£12,600). The sums invested per head of the population being—for Lucerne, £4½; Schwyz, £⅝; Unterwalden, £½; and Uri, £⅖. The town of Lucerne, since it became known to history, was always reputed to have many wealthy inhabitants. In the fifteenth century various citizens had fortunes of 8,000 to 10,000 gulden. One citizen, Feer, who possessed the fortune of 15,000 gulden, was regarded as a sorcerer, and it required all the influence of his family to ensure his burial in consecrated ground.

Ludwig Pfyffer, called the Swiss king, who died in 1594, left the immense sum of 340,000 gulden.*

* At present time this equals about £750,000.

CHAPTER VIII.

LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS.

THE Forest Cantons belong to those which speak the German language, or rather the Alamannian branch of it. This is distinguished by a peculiar softness of tone, which is found in all the different dialects. In the remote valleys of these cantons many old forms of speech and pronunciation have been preserved, which in the more busy centres have altogether disappeared.

Each of the four cantons has a dialect of its own, and whilst the ordinary traveller may not be able to distinguish between them, the natives themselves can at once tell to what canton a person belongs as soon as he speaks. This dialect is not only in use amongst the lower classes, but is spoken by all. It is heard in the cantonal meetings and in the council hall. Only from the pulpit is it banished; here the sermons are delivered in modern German, with the accent of the canton. The inhabitants indeed feel a pride in using the dialect of their own canton. When sometimes, after long absence from home, a countryman returns who has lost the genuine cantonal accent, he is said to have lost the love for his fatherland. Whilst some travellers regard these peculiar dialects with contempt and ridicule, others see in them a characteristic of the past, as much to be admired as is the scenery of Switzerland for its beauty.

The natives of one canton are indeed often jealous of the intrusion of those from another canton into places of

importance amongst themselves. At the time of the war of the Sonderbund Siegwart-Müller (belonging to a branch of a Schwarzwald family which had settled in Canton Uri) was invited to Lucerne, and by his capabilities soon obtained a commanding influence in the council of that town. Dr. Philip Anton Segesser, who then was a young man just entering on political life, tells us that whilst he admitted Siegwart-Müller's great qualifications, he yet never liked him, partly on account of his personal appearance, but chiefly because he was from another canton; and that it was impossible to forget this, because he spoke the Uri dialect to the end of his life.

The German spoken in the Forest Cantons to a large extent resembles that spoken in the other German-speaking cantons. The dropping of consonants, the duplication of syllables, and the cutting off of final syllables is carried on until the word is hardly to be recognised. Thus *gekommen* becomes *cho; gehabt, gha* or *ghä; gegeben, ggä; gesagt* becomes *gseid* or *gsäd.* Consonants are dropped altogether or altered to vowel sounds, thus *werth* becomes *weth; wald, wauwd; wein, wie; kein, kei.* After *u* the letter *i* is often inserted, or *au* is changed into *ui*, as *Bruich* for *Brauch.* When *ie* occur together they are often pronounced as separate syllables. Verbs unknown to the dictionary are often formed from substantives, thus *arznen* means "to practise medicine"; *hornen*, "to blow with the horn." These verbs also frequently change their meaning by a modification of the vowels, thus *blauen* means "to become blue," but *bläuen*, "to make blue," as clothes at the wash; *magern*, "to become lean," but *mägern*, "to cause to become lean." Other comprehensive words are formed by the addition to a substantive of the termination *ele*, thus *käsele* means "to smell like cheese," *küpferle*, "to taste like copper." These terms have been known to exist from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Other peculiar words have a collective meaning, thus, *chochete* implies everything prepared in the kitchen for a meal; *fegete*, a general house cleaning. So that

here we have a single word expressing what in modern German it would require several words to do.

There are, however, peculiarities which distinguish the German of the Forest Cantons from most of the rest of German Switzerland. In common with Cantons Zug, Solothurn, and a part of Aargau, they pronounce the feminine dative singular of the definite article, *ider*, and the masculine dative plural, *inde* or *ide*.

Though, as has been said, the natives of each of the four cantons can distinguish those of another canton by their speech, it is difficult to differentiate them by any description. Many of the peculiarities are common to all four. Final *n* is often dropped; *ein* became *ä; n* is often inserted, *zu uns* becomes *zu-n-is* and *zuihm zu-n-em*.

In Canton Uri the pronunciation is on the whole softer, in Canton Schwyz more guttural and harsh. In the former *e* is pronounced like *ä*, *u* like *ü* or *i*, *a* (long) like *e* or *ä*, *au* and also *u* are often changed into *ui*, *ü* is often pronounced like *i*. In Isenthal, on the Lake of Lucerne, and on the borders of Unterwalden, the inhabitants pronounce *schneien* like *schnijwe*, and *neues* like *njwes*. This way of speaking occurs in some other parts.* Generally *u* (long) is changed to *ü*, and an extra syllable is often added, as *Bluit* or *Bluiad* for *Blut*, *Muotter* for *Mutter; h* is often pronounced like *ch*, as *gesehen* becomes *g'seache*, and the *h* is sometimes dropped altogether. *Mäie* for *mähen*, *näie* for *nähen*, *ist* is generally pronounced *ischt*.

There are, however, many varieties of dialect, notably in Urseren. In Canton Schwyz the dialect resembles much that of Canton Zürich. *Un* and *ün* generally drop the *n;* thus *fünf* becomes *feuf* or *foif*, *uns* becomes *eus*, *Fenster*, *Feischter* and *Zunft*, *zauft*. There are many varieties of dialect in different parts of the canton. That in the Muottathal is remarkable, the speech there being a kind of song whose sounds cannot however be represented by musical notes.

* I have heard a native of Silenen say *news huus* (pron. "nevs hoos").

In Unterwalden there is a difference between Obwald and Nidwald, the former approximating more to Hasli, and the latter to Uri, whilst there is little similarity between either with Canton Lucerne. In Obwald a marked stress is laid upon the vowel *e* before *nd, ng, nt*, as in *Énde, Éngel, Énte.* Generally *a* (long) = *o, ö* becomes *e, u* becomes *ui*, and *ü y*. The diphthong *au* is pronounced like *ai* or *oi*, whilst *äu* and *eu* become *ey*. *N* is often dropped, whether final or not; thus, *kei Hêr, kei First, kei Kénig; ise* for *unsere*, &c. In Engelberg *ü* is pronounced like *oi;* thus, *drei, fünf, neun*, become *droi, foif, noin.* There are in this canton a number of peculiar words, some of which are given below under the head of Lucerne.

In Canton Lucerne three dialects are distinguished; that of Weggis, which resembles that of Canton Schwyz, to which it naturally would seem to belong; that of Entlebuch, like that of Canton Bern; and that of the "Gau" (valley), including the rest of the canton.

In this generally, *au* is pronounced like *uu;* thus, *kraut* becomes *kruut*, and *haut huut.* From this however, *baum* and *blau* are excepted; *eu* is changed into *ei*, so *feuer* is pronounced just like "fire"; *e* becomes *ä*, as *Däge for Degen; a* becomes *o, do* for *da*, and *jo* for *ja* (this however is not the case in Entlebuch); *ei* is generally pronounced like *ih;* thus, *geiz* becomes *gihz* (like English "geese"), *speise* becomes *spihs* (*Engspees*), but this is not universal. *Bein* is not pronounced *Bihn*, or *Geiss, Gihs.* The letter *k* is sounded like *ch*, and after *u, e* is often added, as *Bueb* for *Bube; ist* is generally pronounced *isch.* The letter *r* is sometimes dropped, as *kische* for *kirsche;* sometimes it is doubled, as *Luzärre* for *Luzern, Thurre* for *Thurm; l* is sometimes put for *r;* thus, in the Forest Cantons, as in the whole of German Switzerland, *kirche* is pronounced *chille* or *chilche*, and *kirchweih*, as a festival, is pronounced *kilbi.*

A number of strange words are used in Canton Lucerne, and probably in the other Forest Cantons. Some of these are:

abhei, gone, or lost; *afig*, already; *abluuse*, to flatter; *pfuchähnli*, great-grandfather's father; *stinkähnli*, father of ditto; *eisstig*, always; *allig*, formerly; *änenaben*, down on the other side; *anthaupt*, the top or bottom of a field with a fence, which can either not be ploughed at all, or only with a dwarf plough (*zwergfurchen*); *arig*, sly; *badeere*, bathing dress; *bambam*, nothing; *baringeli*, apricots; *biby*, children's name for a slight hurt; *bindellen*, ribbons; *batsch*, a clod; *batschierig*, neither suitable nor useful; *vordiele*, church roof; *vorzete*, crowd or pressure; *darliwatsch*, a stout person walking heavily; *derdurwille*, on that account; *tschaagen*, slowly; *tschäudi*, simpleton; *düsselen*, to act gently; *föhdelen*, to do a thing deliberately; *gogen*, to go; *gräch*, ready or finished; *kärsch*, fresh or strong, *hürebeiss*, first-fruits, *kanntsam*, sociable; *kawohlen*, to flatter (*i.e.*, cajole); *kludern*, to feel cold; *lurggen*, to speak with difficulty (*schwerreden*); *lützel*, small; *marigseln*, to kill; *nauren*, to behave childishly (? *narren*); *reesi*, a rude person; *robiskratten*, a begging nun (*betschwester*); *rotte*, none the less for that; *raggern*, to scrape together a fortune; *rähelen*, to smell or taste rancid; *reichen*, to fetch; *rübis und stübis*, all whole and several; *sauft*, sufficient; *schleichen*, to give a present secretly; *schluffig*, negligent; *schmaderässig*, delicate in eating; *schnausen*, to drive out; *sperzen*, to stop or resist; *spiribiz*, wiseacre; *splendiföözi*, ridiculous finery; *watsch*, a blow or cuff; *weidlig*, agile; *zeine*, a basket.

All through the Forest Cantons, for the words *jemand*, *etwas*, *etwa* it is usual to use *öpper* (*epper*), *öppen*, and *öppis*, as *het er öppen öpper öppis tho*, for *hat ihr etwa jemand etwas gethan*, "has anybody perhaps done anything to you."

In several of the descriptive volumes which have been written about the Swiss Cantons, the parable of the prodigal son has been translated into the local dialects. In the Forest Cantons this has only been done for Lucerne and Schwyz. From these the following extracts are taken, to illustrate in some degree the local pronunciations.

ENGLISH.	GAU.	ENTLEBUCH.	WEGGIS.	SCHWYZ.
Give me.	Gib mir.	Gimmer.	Gämmär.	Gib mer.
All together.	Alles z' sämme.	Alls z'sämme.	Alls zämä.	
Mighty famine.	Grussliche hunger.	Grüsslich Thüri.	Firchtig thir wordä.	Grüsslechä hunger.
To feed swine.	Um fur d' Süü z' hüeba.	Gä d' Süü z' hüete.	Sine Süh z' gaumä.	Dass er em soll d'Sü gaumä.
And no man gave unto him.	Und niemer hed em öppis dervo ggä.	Aber niemer het ems welle gäh.	Wänärs übercho hat.	U niemer hed em gkeini gä wella.
How many hired servants of my father.	Mi Vater hed so mängä Wärchmä deheime.	Wic mänge Tauener hei bem Aetti.	Wic viel Taglöhnär hät mi Vottär dähäm.	Wie vil Tageslüüt heyd bim Vater deheimä.
Thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found.	Di Bruder ischt dot gsi und wider läbig worde, i ha-n-e verschezt gha und wieder übercho.	Di Brüoder todtna gsi-n-ischt und wider lebiga' worde, verlorna' gsi-n-ischt und wider funda worde.	Di Brüdär ist todt gsi und widär läbig wordä, värlorä gsi und widär g'fundä wordä.	Di Brüöder wider wie vom Todtä uferstandä ischt, and wien-es verlores schaf wider füra cho ischt.

As the translations into the dialects do not exactly follow the wording of the ordinary German version of the parable comparison is more difficult. It is curious to observe that the ruder in form the language is, the more does it approximate to English. As in the case of *theuer*, *thir*, dear; *fünf*, *foif*, five; *stein*, *stoan*, stone; *zu heim*, *deheime*, *deheimä*, to hum, at home.

Though these cantons were probably amongst the last to be colonized by German settlers, it is probable that, from their remote position, they have retained old forms of words and modes of pronunciation more than the German-speaking Cantons in the plain.

CHAPTER IX.

LEGENDS, POETRY, AND LITERATURE.

THE earliest forms of literature in a nation are the traditions handed down orally from generation to generation, sometimes embodied in poems, more or less rude, then worked up by early writers of the national history in a more or less fanciful shape, and finally tried and examined by the modern critic, and often found to be entirely without proof.

The oldest of these traditions in the Swiss Confederation is that of William Tell. This story, which is so well known that it need not be repeated here, is first found in a complete form in a manuscript contained in the archives of Sarnen (Unterwalden), which from its binding is known as the *White Book of Sarnen*, whose probable date is 1470. The story of Tell, apart from the cruelties of the bailiffs, is first found in a ballad, of which the first part was certainly written before 1470. In this Tell is called the first Confederate, and his feat led to the forming of the Confederation, and the expulsion of the tyrants from the lands which were formerly free.

Melchor Russ, who wrote in 1482, adds to the feat at Altdorf the seizure of Tell by the Governor of Uri, his subsequent escape during the storm on the Lake of Lucerne, his shooting of the bailiff in the hollow way, and his return to Uri, where he stirred up the people to revolt.

The oppression of the bailiffs in the Forest Cantons is found first in the *Bernese Chronicle* of Conrad Justinger,

about the beginning of the fifteenth century, without names or details, and with dates which vary in the two recensions of the chronicle. Felix Hämmerlin, a canon of the Gross Münster of Zürich, who wrote about 1450, gives other details, and tells us that the men of Schwyz and Unterwalden first rose against their oppressors, followed later by those of Uri. In the *White Book*, besides these two accounts, we first hear of the meeting on the Rütli, at which Tell is present, and of the bailiff Gessler; the story, in fact, assumes its usual shape. In the Latin poem of *Glareanus* (Heinrich Loriti), published in 1515, and in the *Urnerspiel* (1511–1512), a play acted in Uri, the people of that land are said to have been the first to rise against the bailiffs.

Mutius, in the year 1539, describing the origin of the Confederation, makes no mention of Tell. The dates of Tell's feat in these different accounts vary from 1260 to 1334. At a later date in this century Giles Tschudi, of an old Glarus family, examined all the available manuscripts and moulded them into a consistent story, taking considerable liberty in dealing with facts and dates. According to him, the oppression of the bailiffs appointed by King Albert of Austria (Gessler amongst them) led to the meeting at the Rütli of November 8, 1307, at which Tell was present, where a general rising was appointed for New Year's Day, 1308. Tell's feat at Altdorf is placed a few days later, on November 18. Later writers added a few more particulars as to Tell's birthplace and his family.

Johann von Müller, in his *History of the Confederation* (1780 and 1786), threw Tschudi's version into a literary form, and finally Schiller in his play gave the story a world-wide renown. Thus we see the development of the story, from the Tell ballad to Schiller's play, extended over more than three hundred years.

Doubts as to the genuineness of the story were expressed by Guillimann (1607), by the brothers Iselin (1727 and 1754),

and by Voltaire (1754); but it was first formally attacked in a pamphlet by Freudenberger, a Bernese pastor, at Gleresse, on the Lake of Bienne, on the ground of the similarity of Tell's story to legends in different countries in Europe—Denmark, Norway, Iceland, England, &c. This pamphlet was publicly burned in Canton Uri, and various documents were forged to prove the truth of the Tell legend.

The researches of J. E. Kopp (professor in Lucerne) first cleared up the real early history of the League, and since his time many other writers have followed in the same track. The old legends are now accepted by no serious historian. The silence and the evidence of history are alike against them, for they first appear more than one hundred years after the date of the alleged events; and we know now from original documents what was the real origin of the Confederation, and how different it was from that ascribed to it in the legend. The proofs of the existence of a person named Tell, in Uri, quite break down. They are most palpable forgeries. The whole story seems to have been built up partly from a legend which either arose originally in Uri or was transferred to it from some other source; and partly from certain tyrannical acts which were certainly not committed in Uri. This latter part is probably derived from the oppressive conduct of Peter von Hagenbach, who was bailiff of Alsace (1469 to 1474) when that province was mortgaged to Charles the Bold by Sigismund of Habsburg, and who is known to have committed many cruelties.* It is proved from documentary evidence that no foreign bailiff was placed over the Three Lands. The real history of the origin of the Confederation, if less romantic, is not less heroic, and has the advantage of resting on a secure basis of fact.

Next to the story of Tell, the most romantic incident in the early history of the Confederation is the death of Arnold von

* The Confederates took part in his capture and execution, and so the story may easily have taken root in the Lands.

Winkelried at the battle of Sempach in 1386. It is said that in this battle the Austrian knights, having dismounted from their horses, formed into a close body with their spears protruding. The Swiss, armed mostly with shorter weapons, and standing on lower ground, were unable to break through the wall of spears. Then Arnold of Winkelried, devoting himself for his country, after commending his wife and children to the care of his comrades, rushed forward, and clasping in his arms a number of the enemy's spears, fell pierced through and through. Through the gap thus made in the hostile wall, the Confederates rushed, and laid about them so furiously that the knights in their heavy armour, sweltering in the July sun, were put to utter rout. This heroic action of Winkelried stands on a very different footing from that of Tell. Here, instead of an imaginary personage, doing imaginary and impossible deeds, we have a member of a family which actually then existed, performing an heroic act which he might very well have performed, though the evidence that he did so is by no means complete. A family of the name of Winkelried was living at Stans long before the battle of Sempach, and at the time of the battle there was a member of that family named Erni, or Arnold, since the same name is found in documents of 1367 and 1389, though it is not certain that these were names of the same person. Also in 1417 we find Arnold von Winkelried, Landamman of Unterwalden. All the evidence available as to the feat of Winkelried has been collected by Dr. Theodor von Liebenau, in his work on the battle of Sempach, published in 1886, on the occasion of the quincentenary of the battle. The first mention of the incident is contained in a MS. of date 1476, copied from one about forty years older; but no name is given, and the account seems to indicate that the hero was not killed. No other mention occurs until in the book *De Helvetiae Origine*, by Rudolf Gwalther, Zwingli's son-in-law, written in 1538. Here the hero is still nameless, but is compared to Decius or Codrus,

and is said to have been killed by his brave act. Finally the story assumes the usual form in the final chronicle of Giles Tschudi (1564), the hero being named Arnold von Winkelried, a brave knight, who led the men of Nidwald at the battle, and fell in performing this heroic feat.

Several ballads have been composed on the battle of Sempach, but the feat of Winkelried is only mentioned in one of them. This is a long ballad of sixty-seven verses of seven lines each. Parts of this are found in two chronicles of a date about 1540, but in neither of these does the last verse occur, which attributes the song to Halb Suter, of Lucerne, who is said to have composed it as he was returning from the battle. All agree that this verse was added at a much later date. One of the Halb Suters, the elder or the younger (who lived in Lucerne about 1450), may have written parts of it, but there are no means of fixing the date (or dates) of its composition. The name of Winkelried is found amongst the men of Unterwalden in two lists of those who fought at Sempach; and in the chronicle of Diebold Schilling (of Bern) there is a picture of the battle of Sempach, which shows a warrior falling to the ground pierced by spears. A Winkelried was therefore present at the battle, and he may have performed the feat attributed to him. But it is strange that none of the Austrian and Swiss chroniclers say anything about it before 1538, with the one exception of the Zürich chronicle (date 1476) above mentioned. The passage here is generally regarded as an interpolation. Several similar incidents are recorded between 1200 and 1800 A.D., and of these there is in each case documentary evidence, the absence of which here is strange if Winkelried really performed the feat at Sempach. One Swiss writer indeed (K. Bürkli) asserts that the accounts of the Austrian formation in close ranks is entirely erroneous, and that instead of a regular battle it was a surprise.

The battle of Morgarten does not seem to have found a native bard to sing its fame. The song of Sempach was

written by Halb (Johann) Suter. Hans Auer, of Lucerne, celebrated the fight at Ragatz (1446). Johann Viol sang of the battles in the Burgundian wars (1474 and 1476), and of the combat at Giornico (1478), in all of which he was present.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Joseph Ineichen of Ballwyl, Pfarrer of Udligenschwyl, and Bernhard Häflinger of Hochdorf, wrote songs in the Lucerne dialect, some of which became very popular. The former wrote a song on the battle of Sempach, which is said to have procured for him the appointment to a canonry at Münster in 1808. The oldest songs, whose authors are unknown, but which probably are of very ancient date, are the songs still sung by herdsmen in Entlebuch.

Amongst the natives of the Forest Cantons who wrote the history of the land of their birth, or sometimes of their adoption, the oldest is perhaps Johann Fründ of Lucerne, who died about 1468. He wrote an account of the war between Schwyz and Zürich on account of the Toggenburg inheritance (1436–1450), and also a pamphlet on the Scandinavian origin of the people of Schwyz.

Petermann Etterlin, clerk to the court in Lucerne, who distinguished himself in the Burgundian wars, wrote at the desire of the government of Lucerne the first Swiss history. It was printed at Basel in 1507. It commenced with the founding of the Convent of Einsiedeln in 863, and was continued up to 1503.

About the same time the younger Diebold Schilling wrote. He took part in the battle of Nancy in 1476, and in 1483 was canon of the Hofkirche. He was present at the memorable parliament in Stans in 1481 when Bruder Klaus appeared. He wrote the history of Lucerne and the Confederation up to 1510, illustrated with a number of finely-executed small drawings, which throw great light upon the early condition of Lucerne, &c., as well on historical events. This was not printed until 1862, when some of these drawings were reproduced.

Melchior Russ the younger was clerk to the court at Lucerne, and was ambassador from Lucerne to Louis XI. (1476), and to King Mathias Hunyadi at Ofen (1479), and fell in the Swabian war at Rheineck in 1499. He wrote the history of the Confederation from the founding of the Convent in Hof at Lucerne to the year 1414, in a closely-written MS. of eighty-one folio pages. It was printed in 1832.

The earliest work on Swiss history that appeared in a printed form was an account of the Swabian war (1499) in verse, by Nicholas Schradin of Sursee, in Canton Lucerne. This appeared in 1500.

Johann Salat, town clerk of Lucerne, wrote an account of the first religious war between the five inner cantons and the towns of Bern and Zürich. His song on the same subject called *Tanngrotz* ("blockhead"), written in 1531, caused at the time great excitement. It contained so many offensive remarks on the people of Bern, that on their urgent remonstrance Salat was confined for three days in the Water-tower. Of this circumstance he himself writes thus: "To keep the poet safe from the Bear and his friends, his masters kept him in the Water-tower. . . . Trust in God, the devil help the Bear." Ten years later he was here under less creditable circumstances, being imprisoned a year for forgery.

Zacharias Bletz, likewise town clerk of Lucerne, distinguished himself by collecting the greater part of the materials for the historian Giles Tschudi.

Johann Hurliman (called Horolanus), though not a native of Lucerne, was parish priest for many years (1562–1577). He wrote a history of the campaigns of the Confederates at home and abroad.

Rennward Cysat (1545–1614), also town clerk of Lucerne for forty-five years, compiled a work in twenty-four volumes. The MSS. is in the town library. This is not so much a history as a collection of materials for a history, and therefore not a complete work, but full of valuable matter. He wrote also

a number of other works, amongst them one containing the arguments for and against the Gregorian calendar.

Felix Joseph Balthasar (1737–1810), town treasurer of Lucerne, distinguished himself by his researches into the history of Lucerne and the Confederation. He is said to have examined every MS. in the private, as well as in the public, collections. His writings are contained in one hundred and eighty-two volumes, almost all concerning local or general history in the canton. He was an ardent defender of the Tell legend, when it was attacked by Joseph Eutych Kopp and others, and received a present from Canton Uri for the pamphlet he wrote in defence of it. His son, Joseph Anton, was likewise noted for his extensive knowledge, and for numerous contributions on historical points which appeared in the paper called *Helvetia*. He accumulated a valuable library of ten thousand volumes, which shortly before his death he made over to the town, for the insignificant sum of 8,000 francs.

Franz Xavier Keller, who was mayor of Lucerne, and was found drowned in the Reuss in 1816, left behind him many MSS. which are preserved in the town library.

Among later Swiss writers of history in the present century are Joseph Eutych Kopp, of Münster, in Canton Lucerne, who was long a professor in the town of Lucerne, and who is most noted for his exhaustive enquiry into, and final demolition of the Tell legend, and Kasimir Pfyffer, who, amongst various historical works, compiled the *Gemälde des Kantons Luzern*, from which much of the information in the present volume has been derived.

Rennward Cysat (see above) was also a great student of natural history and medicine, and wrote accounts of the various baths in Switzerland, and of the Rigi and Pilatus. From the latter mountain he collected as many as eight hundred plants, which he kept alive in his garden, on the Musegg inside of the town wall, where he had also a number of rare trees.

Connected with Canton Schwyz by his long residence in the Convent of Einsiedeln was Albert von Bonstetten, who wrote at the instance of Louis XI. accounts (1) of the Convent of Einsiedeln, (2) of the Burgundian wars, and (3) of Switzerland as it then was. He wrote also (4) a history of Austria, dedicated to Charles VIII. of France, who was to marry an Austrian princess. As a reward for this he was created Count of the Palatinate. These manuscripts are still preserved in different libraries in Europe.

Another native of Schwyz has been more widely known than any of the preceding. This was the famous Paracelsus, whose name in full was, Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus Bombast von Hohenheim. His real name is said to have been Bombast, and the title was an assumed one. He was born in Einsiedeln in 1498, and died at Salzburg in 1541. He was a man of great gifts, but leaned too much to theosophy and mysticism. He studied chemistry under the famous Abbot Trithenius of Sponnheim (see Chapter X.), and then travelled in Russia and the East. In 1526 he was appointed town doctor at Basel, and Professor of Medicine in the University of that town, but he still continued to lead a wandering life. With the mysticism which marks all his writings are mingled many sound ideas and valuable discoveries; *e.g.*, about the use and management of hospitals; the effects of air and various gases on the human frame; the effects and antidotes of metallic poisons, &c. He was a most prolific writer, having left behind him no less than fifty-three medical, and two hundred and thirty-five philosophical treatises. These were published at Basel in 1589, at Strasburg in 1603 and 1658.

The families of ab Iberg and Reding* were not only distinguished for their military achievements; Conrad Heinrich ab Iberg (seventeenth century) wrote the history of his canton from 1600 to 1661. Augustin Reding (1626 to 1693), Abbot

* See chapter x.

of Einsiedeln, wrote theological treatises which met with general approbation. Pope Innocent XI. spoke of him as a great pillar of the Catholic church. Jacob Dieterich Reding (1634 to 1701) composed two works on the history of the Confederation, which are still kept in the Kloster Wettingen (near Baden); one of those in twelve vols. folio, and the other in twenty-five vols. quarto.* Dominik Anton Ulrich (end of eighteenth century), clerk of council in Canton Schwyz, compiled a collection of aphorisms, many of which are original, and came much into vogue. Maria Theresia Ulrich, sister of the above, was a remarkable woman. She played the violin and the organ, read Latin, knew all the plants of the plain and mountain that were useful in medicine; kept a well-ordered chemist's shop, and was physician and surgeon to the neighbourhood for a great distance round. On Sundays and holidays she gave advice and medicine to numerous patients, and undertook surgical operations, in difficult cases, however, calling in other advice. She performed the operation of trepanning successfully, and another of her cures was regarded by the people as a miracle.

Ildephons Fuchs, of Einsiedeln, published in 1805 an edition of Tschudi's history. This was the first critical edition since 1500, and contained extracts from many original documents. He examined both the printed and the manuscript works of Tschudi, and was the first to bring the latter into notice. The account of the second war of Kappel, in which Zwingli lost his life, was especially interesting. Fuchs also published (1810 to 1812) an account of the Milanese campaigns of the Swiss in two volumes; vol. i. covering the period 1331 to 1503, and vol. ii., 1503 to 1512. He used not only Swiss but foreign sources of information, and supported his statements by quotations.

Materials for the history of Canton Schwyz were collected by Thomas Fassbind, Pfarrer of Schwyz, and the work after

* Bänder probably means "sheets."

his death was undertaken by Caspar Rigert, Pfarrer of Gersau, by whom the work was completed.

In mathematics, philosophy, education, the Forest Cantons have produced no remarkable names. In jurisprudence, Casimir Pfyffer and Philip Anton Segesser (Lucerne), have in this century published valuable works for their town and canton.

Franz Urs von Balthasar (Lucerne, 1689 to 1763) formed the idea of establishing a national university, in which the young patricians might be brought up to be valiant citizens and good statesmen. This was set forth in a work called the *Patriot's Dream.*

In art likewise the Forest Cantons can show few remarkable names. In Canton Schwyz, the sculptor Johann Carl Hedlinger (1691 to 1771) acquired European fame, especially for medallions and coins, which he executed for Sweden, Russia, Denmark, and Prussia.

Martin Baumann, of Brunnen (1769–1840), executed, after the style of Pfyffer's model of Switzerland, numerous works: "Goldau before the fall of the Rossberg;" "The Cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden;" "The Rigi;" "The Pilatus;" "The Lake of Lucerne," &c.

In Canton Unterwalden the best known name is that of the painter Wyrsch of Buochs. He was professor at the academy at Besancon. He was distinguished in portrait painting, and his works when offered for sale still command high prices. He became blind in his old age, and unfortunately perished in the attack made by the French upon Stans in 1798. The local museum (between Stans and Stans-stad), which well deserves a visit, contains a portrait of Wyrsch, painted by himself.

Paul Deschwänden, of Stans, is well known as a painter of portraits, and of scenes from Bible History. His paintings of the Holy Family are to be found in many convents and churches in Switzerland.

J. Zelger, of Stans, is a well-known painter of Alpine scenery.

In Canton Lucerne Jacob von Wyl (1595–1621) in a short life acquired the reputation of being the best painter of his time. His style resembled that of Holbein. Many of his works unfortunately were destroyed when the Hofkirche was burned in 1633. But his chief work, a "Todtentanz," is still preserved in the cantonal library at Lucerne. This consists of seven large tableaux and one small one—twenty-four groups of figures. In originality and execution this is said (perhaps by partial judges) to surpass all other "Todtentanzen."

Casper Meglinger (died 1670) is best known as the painter of the "Todtentanz" on the Mühlen (or Spreuer) bridge at Lucerne. In this, as in another of his paintings in the Franciscan convent at Werthenstein (Entlebuch), he introduced the likenesses of many of his contemporaries. He was said to be able to paint a man's portrait after one look at his face.

Joseph Schwendimann, of Ebikon, in Canton Lucerne (1721–1786), was a pupil of Hedlinger of Schwyz. He became famous, like his master, for engraving coins and medallions, of which many fine specimens are extant.

Of modern sculptors perhaps the most distinguished in the Forest Cantons is Franz Kaiser, of Stans, in Unterwalden, a pupil of Schwanthaler.

In modern times there can hardly be said to be any national school of art in Switzerland, still less in the Forest Cantons. Most of the Swiss painters live abroad, as art life in Switzerland is inconsiderable, and consequently derive their ideas and impressions from scenes outside of their own country.

CHAPTER X.

REMARKABLE MEN.

WHEN we pass from the region of legend and tradition, from the fictitious personages round whom poetry and romance have thrown a halo that casts into shadow the more commonplace reality, and set ourselves to learn the true history of the founding of Swiss liberty, we can learn but little. The information that we gain is very fragmentary. The names of the persons, and sometimes their offices or rank, are given, but nothing sufficient to enable us to give a biography. On the first day of August, 1291, the Three Lands, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, formally renewed for ever the League which had been concluded about the middle of the century. This document is still in existence. The seals of the Three Lands are appended to it, that of Schwyz being the first; but we know neither the motive nor object of this important act, nor the names of the persons who concluded it, nor the place. We can only infer with almost absolute certainty that the persons concerned must have been the chiefs of their respective Lands. When, therefore, in other treaties of the Lands with each other, or with some other state, we find the same names occurring over and over again, we may safely say these are the men who laid the foundation of Swiss liberty. Without going at length into the different documents in which these names occur, space will only allow us briefly to enumerate the persons so named in each of the Lands, and what is known about them. None of them can ever gain the popular enthusiasm

which has been lavished upon William Tell, or upon the three confederates of the Grütli, but none the less they deserve to be remembered.

First we learn that Arnold, the convent steward of Silenen, was Landamman in Uri at this time. The village of Silenen is situated in the midst of walnut groves and orchards, about two hours above Altdorf. Near it, on the old St. Gotthard road, is a ruined tower, the ancient seat of the family of Silenen, which in the fifteenth century played a distinguished part in the Confederation. The ancestors of Arnold were only peasants, but by holding the office of Meier (steward), which was hereditary, they attained to the rank of Ritter (knight).

At this same time Conrad of Iberg (Iberg is N.E. of Schwyz) was Landamman in Schwyz. The Landamman of Unterwalden in 1291 is unknown. Next to these, in the various documents which exist, follow names which must be those of the most influential persons in the Lands. At their head is Werner of Attinghausen. A short distance above Altdorf, just opposite the point where the stream from the Schächenthal falls into the Reuss, on the left bank of that river, is a prettily situated church, and 200 paces to the south, on a gently-rounded hill, are the picturesque ruins of a tower, from which a fine view is obtained up the valley, as well as towards the Bay of Uri. This tower was the seat of the noble family of Attinghausen, which played so great a part in the founding of the Confederation, alike in tradition and history. This Werner was the grandson of Ulrich, the first of the family whose name occurs in history; he is the Werner immortalized by Schiller. He was many times Landamman of Uri up to 1321, and his honours descended upon his son John, who was Landamman continuously from 1321 up to 1357. He died a year or two later, and with him the family of Attinghausen became extinct. Another native of Uri often mentioned is Burkhard Schüpfer. He was indeed a veteran champion of Uri. His name is found occurring repeatedly from 1243 up to 1291. He seems

to have been Landamman from 1272 to 1291, when he was replaced as Landamman by Arnold of Silenen. The third native of Uri is Conrad, the Meier (steward) of Erstfeld, a bondsman of the Convent of Wettingen.

Thus all classes are represented. The upper nobility in the Freiherr von Attinghausen (Lord of Attinghausen), the lower in the Ritter (Knight) Arnold of Silenen, and the peasant class in Conrad of Erstfeld.

Turning to Schwyz we find, next to that of the Landamman, the name of Rudolph of Stauffach. He was a genuine Schwyzer, mortally opposed to any transfer of real property in Land Schwyz to any ecclesiastical foundations. We find him in 1262 at war with the recently established nunnery of Steinen, insisting on their payment of taxes, and seizing their property in default. In 1275 the remonstrances of King Rudolf's representative, the Lord of Baldegg, were totally disregarded.

The third native of Schwyz was Conrad Hunn, a member of an influential family. Contrary to Rudolph Stauffacher, they were patrons of Einsiedeln, to which they gave bequests in 1210, and in 1217 a member of this family represented the convent before the court which King Rudolf held to judge between Schwyz and Einsiedeln.

The leading persons in Unterwalden in the year 1291 are unfortunately not known.

After the death of King Rudolf in 1291, during the six years' conflict between Adolf of Nassau and Albrecht of Habsburg, and subsequently until the death of Albrecht in 1308, the same men, strong in war and wise in council, steered the vessel of the state through troubled waters. When Albrecht's successor Henry VII. granted to Unterwalden, in 1309, immediate dependence on the empire, and confirmed the same to Uri and Schwyz, the Three Lands had to encounter the enmity of all the friends of Habsburg, by whom they were surrounded. On June 22nd, 1309, the Imperial Bailiff, Werner of Homberg, summoned a court at Stans, to settle a boundary

dispute between Uri and the Abbey of Engelberg, like that between Schwyz and Einsiedeln. We find here the Abbot choosing for his arbitrators Heinrich, the meier (steward) of Stans, Johann of Waltenberg, and Rudolph of Sachseln, all of Unterwalden, whilst Uri chooses Arnold, meier (steward) of Silenen, Werner of Attinghausen, natives of Uri, and Rudolph of Stauffach, from Schwyz, Conrad of Iberg, Landamman of Schwyz, being the president. On June 25th the decision was given, and the document is witnessed also by Conrad Hunn, and his son John, of Schwyz, and by Johann von Wolfenschiessen and Walter von Winkelried, of Unterwalden. Amongst these we have the names of almost all the persons who contracted the league of 1291. Whilst thus met together to settle a question of boundaries they must have discussed other important matters affecting the Three Lands. They might certainly look back with satisfaction on what they had accomplished, if not without anxiety to the future. Here it may be remarked that in all the transactions of this period Schwyz appears in the first place; her seal is attached first to the treaty of 1291; her Landamman presides at the courts of arbitration, and his signature follows next to that of the Imperial Bailiff.

In the quarrel between Schwyz and Einsiedeln, which was decided in 1313, we find amongst the names of the men who were pledged to see the award carried out those of the sons of some of the first founders, Werner (son of Rudolph) of Stauffach, Conrad (son of Conrad) of Iberg, Werner (son of Arnold) of Silenen. The next generation was beginning to replace them. We have also the name of Walter Fürst, shewing that the names of the heroes of the Grütli, Fürst and Stauffach, were names really occurring, and not fictitious, like that of Tell.

When in 1314 a double election took place to the Roman throne, the Lands espoused the cause of Ludwig of Bavaria, and asked him to remove the sentence of outlawry and

interdict which had been laid on them by his opponent, Frederick the Handsome, the son of Albrecht.

In the list of the petitioners only one old name appears, that of Werner of Attinghausen, now far advanced in years.

Ludwig promised to do both, but he could only give the Lands a moral support against the hostility of the house of Habsburg, which ended in their defeat at Morgarten. Here the men of Schwyz bore the brunt. The names of their leaders are unknown, but they probably were Werner of Stauffach, and his brother Heinrich, and the younger Conrad of Iberg. On March 27th, 1316, King Ludwig declared all the rights of the Habsburgs in the Waldstätte to be void, and again confirmed them in their immediate dependence on the empire. Two years later the Habsburgs themselves acknowledged the independence of the Waldstätte, when their bailiffs in the adjoining districts concluded an armistice with the Lands for one year, which afterwards was renewed yearly. Then, Werner, Lord of Attinghausen, was Landamman of Uri. This office he filled for the last time in 1321, when he was succeeded by his son John, who filled the office for many years, and along with the younger Stauffach of Iberg, and the rising generation, worked for the strengthening and extending of the Confederation, as their fathers had done for the founding of it. Some members of their families have been conspicuous for their services to their country. Some of these families remain even to this time, as that at ab Iberg.

One of the most remarkable members of the house of Silenen was Jost von Silenen. He was born in Canton Uri, and became Prior of Beromünster, in Canton Lucerne. He resided several years in Rome, and there made the acquaintance of Cardinal de Rohan. By the latter he was introduced to Louis the XI. of France, and that astute monarch, perceiving the qualifications of von Silenen, employed him in various delicate missions. He was sent to embroil the Confederates with Louis' great rival, Charles the

Bold, of Burgundy, and at the same time to reconcile them with the house of Habsburg. This latter was a difficult task, considering the long enmity which had existed between the lands and the Habsburgs, but the wary statesman succeeded in both, the result being the complete overthrow of Charles the Bold.

Jost von Silenen was made Bishop of Grenoble. He was afterwards elected, by the district of Wallis, Prince-Bishop of Sion. Later he involved Wallis in a war with Italy, which turned out disastrously. The people rose and besieged the bishop in his castle of Majoria (at Sion, burned in 1788), and he only escaped with his life through the intervention of deputies from Lucerne (1496). After this he resided sometimes in France, sometimes in Lucerne, of which his family had been citizens since 1358. He urged the authorities there in vain to help him regain his bishopric. He finally ended his life at Rome in 1497, in very poor circumstances. Out of favour with the King of France, and excommunicated by the Pope, this once celebrated diplomatist was buried in unconsecrated ground.

Though the land of Canton Uri was of old distinguished above the other lands by traditions of heroic deeds performed by her sons in the cause of liberty, she can in later times show but few men of distinction. The family of Attinghausen died out early; that of Silenen produced no one except the above-mentioned Bishop of Sion. The family of Silenen indeed, having in 1358 become citizens of Luzerne, ceased to be reckoned as belonging to Uri.

In Canton Schwyz the families of Schorno and Reding remain until the present day. In Canton Unterwalden those of Moos and Deschwänden. In Canton Lucerne those of Pfyffer and Balthasar, and there are various others that deserve mention who distinguished themselves in their day.

The family of Schorno derives its name from the village of

Schorno, near the Pass of Sattel, not far from Morgarten. Here is a chapel, at which the anniversary of the battle is regularly celebrated on the Sunday after St. Martin's Day. In 1278 Martin Schorno was in the service of King Rudolf; and on the Marchfeld, near Vienna, where Rudolf defeated the King of Bohemia, he was knighted for distinguished bravery. Joseph Anton and Joseph Carl rose to high rank in the Neapolitan service. The office of Landamman was filled six times by members of this family.

Still more distinguished was the family of Reding. From the eleventh century onward there was hardly a battle, either in Switzerland or in foreign service, in which a Reding did not take part. The elder, Ital Reding, surnamed the eloquent, at the time of the dispute with Zürich about the Toggenburg inheritance (1436–1458), by his wise policy, conducted the affairs of Schwyz to a successful issue; but his son, Ital Reding, who succeeded him as Landamman, brought a cloud upon his name by the cruel vengeance he took on the garrison of Greifensee (Zürich).* Various members of the family distinguished themselves in the French service.

Amongst these General Nazar von Reding, who was so harshly treated by his countrymen in the quarrel between the "hard" and the "soft" about foreign service. When on one occasion a member of the family appeared as ambassador at the court of Louis XIV., the monarch asked him, "What did you think of when you entered Paris?" "Sire," said he, "I thought of the retreat from Meaux." "And why?" said the King. "Because, sire, my grandfather Rudolf Reding was one of the leaders of the 6,000 Swiss who then saved the life and crown of one of your ancestors."†

Another Rudolf Reding, captain in the French Guards of Louis XVI., died in the defence of the Tuilleries in 1792. Theodor Reding was captain-general in the Spanish service, and contributed greatly to the defeat of the French at Baylen

* All except ten were put to death after surrendering. † See page 152.

(1808). When the news of the defeat reached Napoleon he exclaimed, "Je rencontre partout les Reding."

The most celebrated, perhaps, of the family is Aloys Reding, brother of the two last mentioned, famous for his valiant defence of his canton against the French in 1798. This is more particularly referred to in chapter xv. The sense of the greatness of his services was well expressed by Heinrich Zschokke, when he wished that the Confederation in time of need might always find a general to do for her what Aloys Reding had done for the Three Lands. He died in 1818. His tomb in the Pfarrkirche, at Schwyz, bears the inscription, "Aloysius Reding de Biberegg. Comes, cujus nomen summa laus." The fourth brother, Nazar Reding, rose to distinction in the Neapolitan service.

The Reding family still flourishes; but it is said that in 1521 it was represented by only one person, and yet at the siege of La Rochelle, in 1628, no less than twenty-seven officers of the family were borne at one time to the burial trench (laufgraben). The office of Landamman of Schwyz was held no less than forty-five times by members of the Reding family (up to 1835).

In Canton Unterwalden, the name of Winkelried is the oldest known to fame, from the heroic devotion of Arnold von Winkelried at the battle of Sempach, in 1386. This is referred to at length in the preceding chapter.

In the next century, the most striking figure is that of Bruder Klaus (Nicholas von der Flue). This remarkable man was born on March 21st, 1417, at the Flühli, a rock not far from the Melch Aa above Sarnen. His family were in a humble position, and the boy as he grew up had to perform the ordinary duties of tending cattle at home or on the alp, and so engrossed by these that he never learned either to read or write. The life seems to have been congenial to him, for he was fond of solitude and religious meditation. However, on several occasions he served his canton in the field—at

Zürich in 1443, and at Ragatz in 1446, where he is said to have fought with a spear in one hand and a rosary in the other; also at the siege of Diessenhofen (Thurgau), in 1460. In 1450 he married Dorothea Wysslingen, who bore him ten children. From his early youth he had been subject to some kind of epileptic attacks, which affected both mind and body. He saw visions, and imagined himself subject to assaults from evil spirits, declaring that they sometimes dragged him about the fields, and sometimes threw him over rocks. His son John once found him bleeding and senseless at the foot of a cliff, and when he came to his senses he exclaimed, "How terribly has Satan cast me down!" On October 16, 1467, he determined to leave his wife and family and henceforward to lead a solitary life. He first thought of going to the Sündgau (Alsace), where he had heard there were many hermits. These were disciples of Nicholas of Basel (b. 1302), who founded the "secret league of the friends of God," and who was seized and burned by the Inquisition at Vienne in 1379 (?) His disciples believed their master was still alive, and some of them sought him in Aargau, others at Engelberg in Unterwalden, and the teaching of these attracted von der Flue. Whilst on his way to Basel he was advised to seek a settlement nearer home, and on the same night he had a vision in which a sword seemed to pierce him, and from that moment he is said to have felt neither hunger nor thirst. He returned home, and without seeing his family lived for some time under a pine tree. He then withdrew further away to the Ranft, where he made himself a shelter of sticks and leaves. The motives which induced him to thus break off his family ties lay probably in part in his own superstitious and melancholy nature, and partly in the religious and political circumstances of the time in which he lived. In 1468 a cell and chapel were built for him. The expenses were defrayed by collections all over the Confederation; but money came in so slowly that the work was still going on in 1483, and various impostors

are said to have found collecting for Bruder Klaus' chapel a very profitable business. In this cell he resided upwards of nineteen years, during which he is said to have partaken of no food except the consecrated wafer. This was said to be a protest against the gluttony and immorality of the clergy of his time. He made every year three important pilgrimages. He attended the Romfahrt at Lucerne, and joined in the procession over the Musegg. On these occasions he always lodged at the house of his friend Johann Uttenberg, in the Kapellgasse. To him he gave the coat in which he had begun his hermit life. About 1590 this relic was given by Adam Uttenberg to the Jesuit church at Lucerne, where it still remains. The Uttenberg house was to the left on entering the Kapelgasse, and had on it frescoes of Nicholas von der Flue and of Carlo Borromeo, which were still visible in 1808. On St. Benedict's-day (March 21st), his own birthday, he attended the foundation festival of the convent of Engelberg; and on the feast of the Engelweihe (miraculous dedication) he went to Einsiedeln. On this latter occasion it is said that no one knew how he went or returned. He often left his cell and lived for days together in the woods. He received many visits both from natives of the country and from foreigners, who were anxious to see him and ask his advice on all sorts of subjects. He never went into his own house, and never saw his wife or other members of his family, except in the presence of witnesses. Being unable either to read or write, he passed his time in prayer and in acts of penance. For the former he used a stick, on which were notches shewing the number of Paternosters and Ave Marias which he had to repeat. He was never free from epileptic attacks, and his last illness, in 1487, was something like tetanus, in which he was at one time stiffened in every limb, and at another racked by convulsions. Immediately after death he is said to have appeared to his wife, and to several other persons, with a glorified countenance, and bearing a white flag.

His family are said all to have been afflicted as their father was, though Catholic writers declare these statements to be malicious inventions. Two of his sons filled the office of Landamman, and their portraits are in the Rathhaus of Sarnen, painted (probably from fancy) by the artist Würsch* in the eighteenth century. The protest of Bruder Klaus against various abuses, and especially against foreign military service, seems to have had little weight with his descendants. His grandson, Martin Scheuber, after serving as a mercenary soldier in eleven campaigns, turned hermit, and lived for eighteen years on a vegetable diet. He is regarded by the Catholics of the canton with hardly less veneration than Bruder Klaus himself. Other members of his family fought at Marignano (1515), Meaux (1559), Moncontour (1563), and in the second Villmergen war (1712), and thirteen of the family are said to have been in the French service at the time of the Revolution. There are no less than five contemporary accounts of visits paid to Bruder Klaus. When questioned by the visitors as to his continual abstinence from food, he invariably returned evasive answers, such as "God knows," or "I never said so." Many miracles are said to have been worked either by Bruder Klaus himself when alive, or after his death by his clothing or other articles left behind him. As many as fifty-six of these were certified in the petitions which were sent to procure his canonization. Many of these were of a doubtful character, but they were and are still firmly believed in Unterwalden. The population is here the most credulous and priest-ridden of all the cantons, and in spite of all the kindness which their Protestant brethren showed them in the horrors of 1798, they have never allowed a church nor a school-house to be built in the canton for their use.† The most notable instance recorded of the influence of Bruder Klaus in political matters is the

* Würsch (or Wyrsch), an excellent portrait painter, in his old age became blind. He fell a victim to the blind rage of the French in the attack on Stans in 1798.

† Since 1867 they are more tolerant.

case of the Parliament (Tagsatzung) of Stans in 1481. When the towns of Bern, Zürich, and Lucerne, after the Burgundian wars, formed an eternal league with Freiburg and Soleure, and proposed that these two towns should be admitted into the Bund, the Waldstätte were dissatisfied, fearing the preponderance of the towns. When Bern and Zürich had shown they were in their right in forming the league, the Waldstätte accused Lucerne specially as having broken the letter of the league of 1291, which forbade any one of the four to conclude an alliance without the consent of the others. Lucerne, relying on the support of the towns, disregarded this warning. Then the people of Obwalden stirred up the Entlebuch under Peter Amstalden to revolt and make themselves independent. When Amstalden was apprehended and executed, his confessions implicated the Waldstätte so much that Lucerne erected fortifications against them. After various ineffectual attempts to settle the dispute the matter came on for discussion before the Parliament at Stans. The deputies disagreed so that the Parliament was on the point of separating, and a fatal breach was about to arise amongst the Confederates, when Bruder Klaus suddenly appeared in the Council hall. His advice and his exhortations to unity had such effect that within an hour the contending parties were reconciled, Soleure and Freiburg were admitted into the Bund, and a new treaty was drawn up defining the superior authority of the Lands, and limiting the right of the subject lands to hold meetings. All the cantons were bound to help in putting down disturbances in any one of them. Thus the Confederates were divided into two classes—rulers and ruled. This treaty, called the Stanzer Verkomniss, was at first much praised, though its value was afterwards not so highly esteemed. No doubt it healed the breach which threatened, but it caused disunion of another kind. It destroyed the influence of the Federal Parliament, left each canton absolute sovereign over its own subject lands, and bound the others to assist in

coercing dissatisfied subjects, however justified their complaints might be.

However, the question here to be considered is, not the excellence of the Stanzer Verkomniss, but whether Bruder Klaus interfered in person. The fact seems to be that Pfarrer Imgrund, of Stans, went in haste to consult him, and then reassembled the deputies to hear the advice which succeeded in composing their differences. The fact of his appearing in person was not mentioned for 126 years afterwards. Peter Etterlin (1507) says he was present. One of the most convincing proofs is given us by Diebold Schilling. His father (Jacob) was at the time town clerk of Lucerne, and Diebold accompanied him to Stans as deputy. His account of the proceedings is in the library at Lucerne. It is illustrated by two drawings—the first showing Pfarrer Imgrund and his assistant priest at the Ranft offering their hands to Bruder Klaus; and, secondly, the hall in the Rathhaus, at Stans—the deputies are seen distinguished by their cantonal colours, seated round the table, and before the table are the same two clerics, in the same dress, but without their caps, so that the tonsure is visible, but no Bruder Klaus, whence we must conclude that he was not present. Early in the sixteenth century the people of Unterwalden began to revere the bones of Bruder Klaus, and mass was read before them. Between 1556 and 1647 many deputations went to Rome, and much money was spent to get the Pope's consent to his being "beatified." Many miracles, 56 in number, were proved to have been worked either by himself or by the relics which he left behind him. Many difficulties arose, and the permission was not given till 1671. The attempts made in the eighteenth century to have him canonised were unsuccessful.

In Canton Lucerne, as may be expected from its larger population, and above all from containing a thriving and active town like Lucerne, there are many more remarkable personages who deserve mention than in the Three Lands; though none of them, however well they served their country, will attain the

celebrity of a Tell, a Winkelried, or a von der Flue. Most of them are conspicuous by their bravery in the frequent wars in which the cantons were engaged, or in the service of foreign powers. Others are referred to in chapter ix.

In the battle of Sempach, in 1386, Peter von Gundoldingen, mayor, led the troops of Lucerne, and himself fell in the battle. A fresco of the scene was painted in the old Rathhaus of Lucerne.

In 1478 Frischaus Theiling commanded the Confederates at the battle of Giornico, on December 28th. With six hundred men from the cantons of Uri, Schwyz, Lucerne, and Zürich, and a contingent from the Val Leventina, he encountered a force of fifteen thousand Milanese. To compensate for their inferiority in numbers the Swiss had turned the water of the river Tessin over the roads and meadows. This speedily froze, and the Italians here found no footing, whilst the Swiss, provided with crampons, rushed upon them with irresistible force. Fifteen hundred of the enemy are said to have fallen. Many were drowned in the river. The pursuit was carried on as far as the Moesa. The leader of the men of Val Leventina, Captain Stanga, distinguished himself greatly, and fell in the battle. Frischaus Theiling was for the time the hero of Lucerne. The song of Giornico, by Hans Viol, was in every mouth. Frischaus Theiling was as ardent a supporter of foreign mercenary service as Hans Waldmann of Zürich was an opponent. In 1487, on the occasion of an expedition into the Eschenthal (Val d'Ossola), which Waldmann sought to hinder, the Swiss were repulsed with a loss of eight hundred men. Theiling laid the blame of this on Waldmann, calling him murderer and traitor, and the banner of Zürich a beggar's rag. Later in the same year Theiling imprudently ventured to attend mass at Zürich, where, by Waldmann's orders, he was seized and executed.

Two years later, in a political revolution, Waldmann himself, the hero of Morat, perished on the scaffold.

The family of Pfyffer, which still flourishes in Lucerne, was one of which many members were conspicuous for their achievements, especially in foreign service.

There were two branches of this family, one of which took its title from the castle of Altishofen, near Willisau, about twenty miles west of Lucerne, in the Entlebuch, and the other from Wyer (or Whyer). Various members of both of these, distinguished in various branches of art and science, have been mentioned in the preceding chapter. The most famous of the former family was Ludwig Pfyffer, who was called the Swiss King. He was born in 1524, and was brought up to be a cloth merchant. In this capacity he visited the fairs of Lyons, Frankfort, and Strasburg. Later he was tempted to try his fortune in military service, and in 1553 he entered the French service as cornet (fahn drich). By 1562 he had attained the rank of captain, and at the battle of Dreux, when Colonel Tamman, of Lucerne, who commanded the Swiss, had fallen, Ludwig Pfyffer assumed the command. In 1567, when the Catholic Cantons consented to the levy of six thousand troops for the French service, the command was given to him. Charles IX. and his mother, Catharine de Medici, with the court, were then at Monceaux. Hearing that the Huguenots had formed a plan to abduct the royal family, the Court removed to Meaux, and the question arose whether they ought to stand a siege there or to try and force their way through to Paris. The force at the king's disposal was too small to venture on the latter course, when Ludwig Pfyffer appeared with his six thousand Swiss. Hearing of the matter, he asked the court to entrust itself to him. At daybreak the Swiss started, formed in a hollow square, with the king and court in the centre. Their ranks were five deep, three armed with pikes, and two with halberts, while the musketeers were on the flanks. After an hour's march they encountered the enemy, who for some hours made incessant attacks on the front, flank, and rear of the Swiss without effect, and at last withdrew, finding

the matter hopeless. The king with his defenders reached Paris in safety. The leader was knighted, and received the order of St. Michael, and the troops received double pay. Their retreat from Meaux has been compared to the retreat of the ten thousand under Xenophon. Ludwig Pfyffer also distinguished himself at the battle of Montcontour, in 1569. His youngest brother, Rudolf, fought on the side of the League at the battle of Ivry, and when the rest of the army of the League took to flight, kept his men steady, formed in a square. They were admitted to an honourable capitulation, retaining their flags and arms, and King Henry himself bore witness to their bravery.

Franz Ludwig Pfyffer, of Wyher, became marshal in the French service, and distinguished himself at the battle of Seneff, where he fell. There is a magnificent monument to his memory in the town of Maubeuge.

Franz Ludwig Pfyffer of Wyher (grandson of the above), was general in the French service, and his family in its day exercised more influence in the social life of Lucerne than any other.* He is most noticeable for his relief map of a part of Switzerland. The space covered by this was 246 square feet. The extent represented was about 1,600 square miles, and included great part of the Cantons Uri, Schwyz, and Zug, nearly the whole of Lucerne and Unterwalden, and portions of Bern, Zürich, and Aargau. The Pfyffers of Lucerne were as common in foreign service as the Redings of Schwyz.

The families of Balthasar, Meyer, Keller, and Segesser were of old, and still are, conspicuous in Lucerne, in political affairs, in art, literature, and science, more than in the pursuit of arms.

Joseph Rudolf Valentin Meyer, born 1725, of a patrician family of Lucerne, became famous by his denunciation of the members of the rival family of Schumacher as traitors to their order and their canton. His accusation of high treason,

* See chapter xii.

brought Placidus Schumacher, in 1764, to the scaffold. Valente Meyer became a member of the Lesser Council, and acquired such influence as to be named the "divine" Meyer. His presumptuous conduct made him many enemies, and he was at last overthrown by the rival family, and banished from Lucerne for fifteen years. He returned and filled many offices, but never regained his former influence. He died in 1808, at the Convent of Rheinau, of which his brother was prior. Other members of the Meyer family are referred to in the preceding chapter.

The only member of the Segesser family distinguished for military service was Jost Segesser of Brunegg, who in the sixteenth century became captain in the Papal Guards. He enjoyed the confidence of Pope Gregory XIII., and was entrusted by him with many important commissions to the Confederation. He died in 1572.

The most conspicuous member of this family in recent times was Dr. Philip Anton Segesser (1817 to 1888). For forty-five years he served his canton in various official capacities, and for many years was the leader of the Catholic Conservative party in Lucerne. His principal Liberal opponents were from the families of Pfyffer, Amrhyn, and Hertenstein. Thus we see the old rivalry of the patrician families perpetuated by their taking opposite sides in the arena of modern politics. Segesser was brought up as a barrister, but in 1841 entered into the State service as clerk to the Council. He was employed in a civil capacity, in the suppression of the disorders in Wallis (1843) and in Entlebuch and Lucerne (1844–5). After these disturbances, though he had no vote, Segesser expressed his opinion that a general amnesty ought to have been proclaimed instead of arresting and prosecuting so many individuals. When General de Salis assumed the command of the troops of the seven cantons in the Sonderbund war, Segesser was attached to his person in the military chancellerie. General de Salis seems to have been a fine soldier, but devoid of any

real capacity for managing an army. All the orders went through Segesser's hands; he had only to transmit them; and it was a torture to him to see so plainly that the result must go against them. He asserts that the end would have come much sooner if the hostile general had not been equally stupid with de Salis. On the last day he had charge of a number of orderlies, to carry messages between the two wings of the army. They had nothing to do because no messages were sent. Segesser deeply felt the defeat inflicted on the Catholic Cantons. He represented different constituencies in the Great Council for many years, and was a member of the Conservative government (1871 to 1874). The Old Catholics then were anxious to have a place of worship in Lucerne. Segesser disliked them exceedingly. In 1884, when mayor of Lucerne, he refused to attend the unveiling of a statue of General Dufour, at Geneva. He always opposed the removal of the death penalty from the statute book, during the years 1875 to 1882, but his feelings of humanity led him twice, in 1873 and 1885, to intercede for the remission of the sentence of death. He was on the whole a sensible man, and a fair opponent in political matters. He was glad towards the close of his life to think that the bitterness of feeling which formerly existed between persons of different political views was greatly softened.

CHAPTER XI.

GEOLOGY, FLORA, FAUNA, ETC.

IN the Forest Cantons there is little of crystalline rocks, except in Canton Uri, of which nearly half is composed of them. They occur in only a small part of Unterwalden in the south-east. The crystalline rocks are overlain by a series of Secondary and early Tertiary limestones, which run roughly from south-west to north-east. These cover the whole of Canton Unterwalden and the greater part of Canton Schwyz. The limestone strata are again overlain by sandstone and conglomerate, or pudding-stone, of Tertiary age. These cover the north-west part of Canton Schwyz: the Rigi and adjoining Rossberg are entirely composed of them.

The limestone extends into Canton Lucerne, and forms the south-east side of the Entlebuch in a line extending from the Brienzer Rothhorn through the Schrattenfluh and other mountains to the Pilatus, where it terminates at the Lake of Lucerne in the Lopperberg. It reappears in the Burgenstock and the Vitznauerstock on the other side of the lake.

The north-west part of the Entlebuch, whose crowning summit is the Napf, is composed of conglomerate. The rest of the Canton of Lucerne is covered by the sandstone (molasse). This is of two kinds—one formed in fresh water and one in salt water, of which the former is found in two masses separated by a bed of salt-water formation (shelly sandstone), which appears to thin out towards Canton Aargau, so that the upper and lower strata of sandstone are contiguous. As the strata are horizontal, it is difficult to examine the salt-water

deposit, except where it has been laid bare by accident, or by quarrying or railway making. The fresh-water sandstone covers the north-west of the canton at Reiden, Dagmarsellen, Altishofen, and Pfaffnau. This again is covered to a great extent by (*a*) so-called diluvial; (*b*) glacier deposits, some blocks having travelled on the surface, for their edges are unrubbed, while others are worn and polished by the friction between the ice and its bed; (*c*) alluvial deposits of a later period.

The crystalline rocks in Canton Uri are of various kinds. Many different kinds of schist may here be seen, such as clay-, talc-, mica-, hornblende-, chlorite-schist, with gneiss and granite. From the St. Gotthard Pass to Hospenthal we have mica-schist, gneiss and granite, with large crystals of felspar; from Hospenthal to the Urnerloch schist, schistose-gneiss, marble, and slate; thence to the Wasenwald gneissose granite, sometimes coarsely, sometimes finely grained; thence to Amsteg a more schistose gneiss passing into various kinds of schist; thence to the Bocki Tobel (Erstfeld), rather coarser gneiss. The line of division where the limestone rests upon the crystalline rocks can be seen on either side of the valley. This line pursues an irregular course across the canton; from the Schlossberg Joch down the Erstfeld Thal, and then from Amsteg up the Maderanerthal to the Clariden Pass, the mountains on the south side of these valleys being crystalline rocks, and on the north side limestone. These crystalline rocks are in some cases altered sediments, in others of igneous origin.

On the St. Gotthard the divisional planes are vertical; further north less so, but always steeply inclined towards the south. In these mountains are found many rare minerals, which are eagerly sought after by the local crystal hunters for the purposes of sale, a pursuit frequently attended with much danger. The most common of these are the quartz crystals, which are obtained in all sizes, from that of the little finger joint to a mass weighing several cwt. The dark variety of this mineral (smoky-quartz) is scarcer and more highly prized. Other

valuable minerals are amethyst (also a variety of quartz), white and rose-red fluor-spar, garnets, epidote, and tourmaline.

Traces of many metals, &c., occur—copper, manganese, lead, iron, coal, sulphur, alum. Remains of mining works occur in various places on the Bristenstock in the Etzli Thal, and on the Intschi alp opposite. Here mines were worked for alum, lead, and copper in the early part of the seventeeth century. These are said to have been abandoned on the outbreak of the plague called the "Black Death," which in Altdorf and Flüelen alone carried off 1,800 persons. On the slopes of the Little Windgelle above Gozern is an old shaft, from which was obtained magnetic iron ore, which was smelted in the valley at Bristen, and worked at Amsteg. The destruction of the smelting mills by a flood stopped the concern. The expense of transit from the mines to the valley must have been a great difficulty. There are still heaps of ore to be seen at the mouth of the shaft. This mine is, however, in the limestone formation, whilst the two above-mentioned were in the crystalline rocks.

The limestone formation in the canton is plainly stratified, and the strata are often twisted in a wonderful way, as is well seen in the cliffs of the Axenfluh, near Brunnen. These strata belong to the three great geological periods, the Jurassic, the Cretaceous, and the Eocene. In the intervals of the various beds of limestone are found layers with greenish granules, resembling greensand. In one of these nummulites are found, but very seldom in the limestone proper, and there only where it becomes clayey. In the greensand the impressions of the shells are often, as it were, gilt by the presence of the iron sulphide called marcasite. The mountain above mentioned, the Little Windgelle, was formed by the denudation of a double or treble fold of these strata. On this mountain are found two bands of rock with nummulites, the series of intervening layers occurring twice over in a reversed order.

In Canton Schwyz the oldest rocks, slate, or sandstone

belonging to the Lias, are found on the borders of Uri, in the remoter recesses of the Bisithal, in which the Muottathal terminates just north of the Klausen Pass. The rest of the canton is covered with the limestone formation, except in the north-west, where the Rigi, Rossberg, Great and Little Mythen, are of conglomerate or of rocks closely allied to it. The line of separation between the limestone and the sandstone in the Forest Cantons, beginning at the borders of Canton Bern, with the Hohgant and Brienzer Rothhorn passes along the Schrattenfluh to the ridge of the Pilatus. On the other side of the Lake of Lucerne it is continued through the Vitznauerstock and Hochfluh, and passing south of the Mythen runs by Einsiedeln and the Etzel to the Lake of Zürich. The conglomerate, of which the north-west of the canton is largely composed, consists of waterworn stones of various sizes and sorts, such as limestone, grit, quartz, gneiss, granite, mica-schist, porphyry, and chert (hornstein). These stones have been rounded by river-action, and are now cemented by a natural mortar into a solid mass. The sandstone, which occurs in the same neighbourhood, also often contains pebbles joined by a kind of marly cement. Some of the stones which compose the conglomerate are not to be found either in the surrounding mountains, or even in the adjacent Black Forest, or in the Vosges. The line of the conglomerate follows the border of Lucerne and Bern along the hills, whose chief summit is the Napf, and then passes into Schwyz, along the Rigi, Rossberg, and the Hacken Pass, Gross, and Klein Mythen. Between the layers of conglomerate are softer and more marly layers, which are easily disintegrated by the action of water, &c. When the strata are steeply inclined this is a source of danger.

In 1795 a mass of mud and rubbish, which was forced out by the weight of the upper layers, overwhelmed a great part of the village of Weggis, and in 1806, from a similar cause, an enormous mass of conglomerate slid down from the Rossberg

and destroyed the villages of Goldau, Busingen, Röthen, and Lowerz. This catastrophe is the only great mountain fall which has occurred in the Forest Cantons. Rock falls had occurred here in 1712, 1750, and 1790. The traces of these are covered by the last and greatest fall. This took place on September 2nd, 1806, after a long spell of rainy weather, which undermined the softer strata of the Nagelfluh on the Rossberg. Cracks had been observed in the surface at various places, and stones had been observed to fall, but the inhabitants thought of no serious danger. About 2 p.m. the face of the mountain began to move, descending in four separate streams, and in a few minutes the four villages and all the land between the Rigi and the Rossberg were covered with a mass of rubbish from 30 to 200 feet in thickness. 111 houses were destroyed, with many barns and outhouses, and 457 persons perished, amongst whom were seven travellers just entering Goldau. 219 persons were extricated from the debris, some of the escapes being marvellous. The Lake of Lowerz was almost driven out of its bed. A wave 70 feet high passed over the island of Schwanau; in Schwyz the windows rattled, and the houses were shaken as if by an earthquake. It is said that a similar process of decomposition in the strata of the Gross Mythen may some day bring destruction on the town and valley of Schwyz. In many of the upper valleys of this canton, as Altmatt, Einsiedeln, &c., are extensive moors, from which peat is largely exported to other cantons. The limestone beds at Seewen (on the Lake of Lowerz) supply excellent troughs, doorposts, &c. So-called marble is found and worked in many places, being a variety of the ordinary Alpine limestone, as in the Alpthal, Wäggithal, Muottathal, &c. Fine slate slabs are also obtained near the conglomerate. The canton, however, is poor in metals. Gold has been found on the Diethelm (in the Wäggithal), but in quantities too small to repay working. Good iron ore occurs, but only in isolated masses. There are iron springs at Seewen, and sulphur springs at Iberg.

The Canton of Unterwalden, as already appears, has hardly any granite or conglomerate. It just touches the former on the borders of Bern and Uri, and the latter on the border of Entlebuch. Its surface is composed entirely of limestone and calcareous earth, which renders its alps and its meadows so beautiful and so productive. In various parts, where the rock surfaces are exposed, there occurs what is called hieroglyphic limestone. The rock in these cases contains an abundance of shells, the material of which is less easily weathered than the other component parts, so that the surface is covered with a number of irregular curved projecting lines. Fine crystals of fluor spar are found at Engelberg, at Lauchern, near Wolfenschiessen, and at the foot of the Stanserhorn, near Thalwyl. One of the remarkable natural phenomena in this canton are the so-called "wind-holes." Of these the three most remarkable are the Fykenloch, the Arniloch, and the Höllenlocher. The first two of these are on either side of the ridge east of the Melch See. The Fykenloch is a narrow cleft upwards of a mile in length, accessible with difficulty, with abrupt descents requiring the use of a rope. It communicates with the Arniloch on the other side of the ridge. The Höllenlocher are two holes of unequal size on the alp Niederbauen (south of Seelisberg). A stone thrown down is said to be heard rolling for sixteen seconds. A similar hole is the Staubi Loch, through which passes the outflow from the Melch See, emerging about three miles lower down. Several such holes are on the Stanzerhorn. The currents of air from these holes, inward or outward, serve as a barometer to the herdsmen.

The lower hills Muttergeschwand, Rotzberg, and Burgenstock, which are in a line along the east shore of the Alpnacher See and of the Kreuztrichter, are formed of varieties of limestone belonging to the Cretaceous formation, and containing many fossils. A bed rich in nummulites occurs near Sarnen. There are deposits of marble at Keselifluh in the Melchthal, and

at Knyri near Stans. Lime and gypsum are obtained between Kerns and the Stanserhorn at Allweg. Except at a point just south of the Titlis, granite occurs only in erratic blocks. Iron exists in the Hohestollen and the Erzegg. As these names imply, iron mines were once worked here, and the ore was smelted in the Melchthal, but the produce did not cover the expences. Parts of the tramway are still visible. There were once salt-springs at Alpnach and at Wolfenschiessen, but they were dried up by an earthquake.

The limestone region in the Entlebuch has been already referred to. The rest of the Canton of Lucerne is covered by the sandstone formation. In the north-west and north of the canton, where the mountains sink into undulating hilly land, this formation is to a great extent covered by so-called diluvium, by glacier deposits containing erratic blocks, or by later alluvial deposits. Gold has been found in small quantities in various streams, and gold-washing is still carried on in the river Luther (which rises in the Napf and flows northward to join the Wiggern, near Willisau). The great glacier which once filled the valley of the Reuss, terminated in the plain of Canton Lucerne. The lakes of Sempach, Baldegg, Wauwyl, &c., were formed by the moraines. Those at the present day form semicircular ranges of hills, which enclose the lower ends of the lakes. Large moraines are also found on the Pilatus at Eigenthal, and near Herrgottswald.

The crystalline rocks of Canton Uri, though they have furnished none of the great finds of crystals, such as that of the Zinkenstock (Aar glacier) in 1719, or that in a fissure above the Tiefen glacier near the Galenstock in 1868, have for centuries been one of the most productive grounds for the crystal hunter. The neighbourhood of the Kreuzli Pass (between Amsteg and Sedrun in the Vorder Rheinthal) was one of the best. Many fine specimens have been found there, and it is still a favourite spot. The most likely place now for good crystals is the ridge which encloses the head of the Göschenen Thal, over which

the passes of the Winterjoch and Maasplankjoch, &c., lead to the Furca or the Rhone glacier. This ridge is nowhere easy of access, and therefore it may be said to be virgin ground. Explorers who have climbed the ridge and several of its summits, report the discovery of several fine specimens, and here is evidently a promising field when the difficulty of access is once overcome. Not unfrequently, however, in these parts the tourist may find on a mountain ridge very pretty specimens. Occasionally a number of pieces are found within the space of a few square yards, where some rocks have been disintegrated by the winter frosts. This ridge, consisting of gneiss, is remarkable for the immense size of the blocks which cover its summits, or which are grouped together in its hollows. Not unfrequently among them are masses weighing many tons. These are to be seen easily on almost any excursion, such as from Realp to the Lochberg, from the Tiefengletscher Hotel to the ridge above, or from Andermatt towards the Batzberg. These masses of blocks must always be passed cautiously. A tourist once, in passing from one large block to another, let himself down on to a smaller block resting between them. Hardly had his foot touched it than it slipped down into a hollow below. The fact that the tourist had not relaxed his hold on the first block, alone saved him from a living grave. On the ridge near the Gletscherhorn, a tourist and his guide, in order to make their way along the ridge, crept through a narrow cleft formed by two great blocks leaning against one another. During the passage one of the blocks began to move, but immediately stopped again. It was a terrible moment before they were through. So unstable are rocks which seem to have been resting fixed for ages.

One of the remarkable appearances which must strike the traveller in the limestone districts is the extent and smoothness of the surfaces of rock which are exposed. In certain cases, when these are approximately horizontal, the rock becomes greatly disintegrated, owing to the unequal hardness of different

parts of it, or to the unequal action of atmospheric influences. Thus are produced the stony wildernesses, locally called "Schratten," whose surface is seamed by numerous crevices, often many feet in depth, and resembling the crevasses of a glacier, whilst the ridges which divide them are almost as sharp as a knife. Instances of these are numerous; on the Staffel and Gnof alps in the Maderaner Thal; near the Melch See in Unterwalden; on the Schrattenfluh in Entlebuch. They are perhaps most extensively developed in the east part of Canton Schwyz, in the neighbourhood of the Glatten alp, where it borders on Canton Glarus. Excursionists on their way to the Linththal by new routes, have been so puzzled in crossing these wastes as to be compelled to pass the night in very uncomfortable situations. Local traditions say that these wastes were once fruitful alps, and an idea has been suggested that this was really the case, and that the "Schratten" have been caused by the reckless cutting down of forests in very early times, and consequent exposure to the attacks of the elements.

The Flora of a district depends to a great degree, both in its nature and extent, upon the geological formation. In districts where crystalline rocks prevail, plants rise higher than in equally elevated limestone regions. The position also, north or south of a range of mountains, produces a great effect. The dark evergreen "Tannen" (*Pinus picea* and *Abies*) abound more on the limestone than on the crystalline rocks; contrariwise the Larch (*Pinus Larix*), which changes its leaves every year, is more plentiful on the crystalline rocks than on the limestone.

The Forest Cantons include regions varying in elevation from five to six thousand feet on the northern border, to ten to twelve thousand feet on the southern borders of Uri and Unterwalden, as well as low-lying districts of not more than one thousand feet above the sea, such as the March and Höfe in Schwyz, on the shore of the Lake of Zürich, and the portions of Canton Lucerne near the Lake of Hallwyl, and

near Dagmarsellen, on the borders of Aargau. The flora might therefore be expected to be representative of all Switzerland. This is, however, forbidden by their position, entirely on the north side of the main chain. Many of the plants which flourish in the valley of the Rhone, and in those of the Italian Cantons, which may be almost called sub-tropical, can have no place here.

August Gremli, in the last edition of his *Flora of Switzerland*, gives a list of two thousand six hundred and sixty flowering plants. Of these the Forest Cantons can probably show at least two-thirds.

Of the four cantons only Uri and Unterwalden have the upper alpine flora, whilst Schwyz and Lucerne, whose summits seldom rise above seven thousand feet, have only a sub-alpine flora.

As regards moor and marsh plants the most important district in the four cantons is Einsiedeln. Especially rich is the moorland on the east side of the so-called "Breitenweg," above the "Teufel's brücke." This bridge crosses the Sihl on the way from Einsiedeln to the Etzel, and the moorland is just south of it. Amongst others the following tolerably rare plants may be found there: *Saxifraga hirculus*, *Trientalis europaea*, *Drosera intermedia*, *Carex gaudiniana*, *Juncus supinus*, *Orchis Traunsteineri*, *Hierochloa borealis*, *Scheuchzeria palustris;* this last was found also in the Wauwyler See, in Canton Lucerne, but is now probably lost by draining. The resulting "Torf-moor" is said to be very rich in marsh plants. The Pilatus was long ago explored by botanists, and acquired a great reputation for the extent of its flora, but it is probable that if any of the limestone summits in Schwyz and Unterwalden had been explored with equal care they would have presented a list not inferior. Collections of flowers were made on the Pilatus, which it was supposed could be found nowhere else. Thus the mountain was long supposed to be a unique habitat for the alpine poppy (*Papaver alphinum*), but later researches have revealed the existence of this plant on limestone rubbish

slopes, on nearly all the mountains of the northern chain. It is a mountain, however, which will well repay the researches of the botanist. The following are some of the rarer plants found on it: *Ranunculus alpestris*, *Viola cenisia* and *calcarata*, *Cherleria sedoides*, *Drosera rotundifolia*, *Oxytropis Halleri*, *Centaurea montana* and *alpestris*, *Androsace helvetica* and *villosa*, *Primula auricula and viscosa*. *Narcissus poeticus* is abundant on its meadows, and one particular meadow above Hergiswyl is called the "starry plain."

The special flower of the Alps, the Edelweiss, is said to be found in all the four cantons, very doubtfully, however, in the case of Lucerne. It was long reported from the Pilatus, and a specimen is said to have been gathered on the Klimsenhorn about 1860, but the plant seems now to have disappeared. The Rigi, which is composed of conglomerate, likewise presents a large flora, though not so extensive as its opposite neighbour. This is partly accounted for by the fact that its slopes are everywhere accessible to cattle, and where they go the botanist need not go. Its slopes in the late summer are often ablaze with *Gentiana purpurea* and *punctata*. The scarce *Hieracium glaucum* and *Willemetia apargioides* occur between the Dossen and the Rigi Scheideck.

In Canton Schwyz *Draba incana* is found on the Axenfluh, near Brunnen, *Euclidium syriacum* at Wollerau, on the Lake of Zürich, *Trigonella caerulea* in the March, on the Lake of Zürich, as an escape from cultivation; *Hypericum coris* on the Mythen, and in the Muottathal. This plant was supposed, a little while ago, to be restricted to one locality, the range of the Wiggis (Rautispitz), in Canton Glarus. The alpine flora is said not to be well represented in Canton Schwyz, but this is probably because the ground has not been properly searched. The wild regions to the east are very seldom visited. In this part occur immense "Karren felder" (see above), which render the traversing of the country difficult, except by certain frequented paths.

In Canton Uri *Thalictrum saxatile* occurs at Hospenthal and *Epilobium nutans* in the Urseren Thal. *Valeriana sambucifolia* and *saxatilis* are not infrequent. The traveller who passes the St. Gotthard by the high road may find *Galium rubrum* in the gorge of Schöllenen, and see the fine plumes of *Saxifraga cotyledon* nodding from the rocks: the beautiful "herald of heaven," *Eritrichium nanum*, may often be found in abundance on the mountains between Andermatt and the top of the Pass. *Iris variegata* and *sambucina* (wild, or nearly so) and *Fumaria capreolata* grow on old walls at Altdorf. *Lilium croceum* (*candidum* in gardens) is not unfrequent on the rocks; *Juncus Gerardi* on the Waldnacht alp above Attinghausen on the way to the Surenen Eck; the rare fern *Woodsia hyperborea* is found at Spiringen in the Schächenthal.

In Canton Unterwalden *Cyperus longus* is found on the shores of the Lake of Sarnen, and near Sarnen *Eragrostis pilosa; Orchis Traunsteineri* in wet meadows near Stans.

In Canton Lucerne *Drosera intermedia* and *obovata* occur on the shores of the Hallwyler See, just outside the canton, and most probably also within its limits; *Callianthemum* (*Ranunculus*) *rutaefolium* on the Schöngiebel, between the Brienzer Rothhorn and Lungern; *Dianthus deltoides* at Dagmarrellen; *Ornithopus perpusillus* at Zofingen; *Vicia lutea* is found occasionally; *Carpesium cernuum* (a plant like *Bidens*, but with alternate leaves) is found in the Lake of Lucerne; *Trapa natans* at Fischweier, near St. Urban; *Centunculus minimus* at Hellbühl, Rothenburg, and Buchrain, in damp meadows; *Calla palustris* in ditches at Chusirainwald, near Sempach, and formerly between Meggen and Adligenschwyl; *Sturmia Loeselii* in the Wauwyler and Rothenburg lakes. The former of these was a locality for *Scheuchzeria*, but the plant is now probably lost. *Galanthus nivalis* at Winikon, near Triengen, north of Sursee: this plant is very local, and not common, either in Switzerland or Tyrol; *Cyperus longus* in the Lake of Lucerne; *Carex strigosa* on the Gutsch in

Lucerne; *Eragrostis minor* near Lucerne. In this canton, one of the most favoured situations is Weggis, where in sheltered spots vines, figs, apricots, peaches, and almonds flourish. The Reussthal from Amsteg to Flüelen is likewise very sheltered.

Of wild animals the Forest Cantons can probably exhibit four-fifths of those known to exist in Switzerland. The bear, the wolf, and the lynx may be said to be extinct; occasionally a solitary specimen may be found in Uri that has strayed from the wilds of Graübünden. In the early part of this century these animals were to be found in all the four cantons.

In Canton Lucerne the bear and the lynx were shot on the Pilatus in the middle of the last century, and wolves have been hunted there early in this century. In Entlebuch the last lynx was seen in 1700. In Canton Schwyz and Unterwalden these animals may be said to be extinct.

That the steinbock once was a denizen of Canton Lucerne is proved by the fact that in the Natural History Museum at Lucerne is a head and horns of this animal, presented by Col. Felix Balthasar, with a note appended that it was shot on the Pilatus. No date, however, is given.

The chamois still exists in all the four cantons, but it is abundant only in Uri and Unterwalden. In Schwyz it may occasionally be found in the wild regions towards the east, where it has most probably passed the border from Uri. In Lucerne they may very rarely be found on the peaks of the Pilatus, the Gemsmattli, and Widderfield, but the vulgarisation of this mountain by road and railway will soon forbid its approach to this, the only wild mountain part of the canton. In the winter of 1855 a buck chamois came down to Horw, on the Lake of Lucerne. On December, 1891, a chamois was caught in the Lake of Lucerne when endeavouring to swim from the Upper to the Lower Nase. It was conveyed to Lucerne, and a few days after set free on the Pilatus.

The wild cat is said to be found in Canton Lucerne. In 1863 the Rothhorn was given as a locality; but this animal is not mentioned amongst the wild animals of the other three Forest Cantons at date 1835-1840.

The most common carnivorous animal is the fox, which seems to be increasing in number. Of this two varieties are distinguished—the valley fox and the alpine fox. The former frequents the lower woods, and constructs its lair with many approaches, whilst the alpine fox has a den with only one or two entrances, frequents the upper alps and hardly descends to the valley, even in the severest winter. This cunning and destructive animal is lured by the herdsman with carrion or fresh meat, and then shot. Its fat is highly valued as a salve for wounds, and sells at four to five francs a pound, whilst the winter coat is worth from five to six francs.

The marmot is to be found in Uri and Unterwalden, and occasionally in Canton Schwyz in the wild recesses of the Bisithal. This animal is more frequently heard than seen, since after whistling shrilly it dives at once into its hole. The fat of the marmot is esteemed a sovereign remedy for many diseases. The skin, applied when fresh, will charm away rheumatism.

The weasel tribe is everywhere abundant, not unfrequently they may be seen in twos and threes, sometimes in whole troops, playing by the road side. They are all predatory and most mischievous animals. The skin of the tree-marten (*mustela martes*) is worth from six to ten francs, that of the house-marten three to four francs, and of the common weasel two francs.

Squirrels may frequently be seen in the wood, both the common one, and a black variety with white belly, whereas white with red eyes and tail is a rarity.

The common hare occurs in all the Forest Cantons; the alpine hare, which is white with black ears in winter and dull brown in summer, occurs mostly in Uri and Unterwalden

though the Pilatus is said to be a locality for it in Lucerne, and the Rigi in Canton Schwyz.

Deer, both red and fallow, were once abundant in the Forest Cantons, but have long since disappeared.

Amongst the birds the two largest birds of prey are the vulture and eagle. The former is the larger, reaching to four and a half feet in length and ten feet across the outspread wings, whilst the latter does not exceed three and a half feet with a spread of eight feet. This vulture is called lammergeier, from its destruction of lamb and kids, and bearded vulture, from the tuft of feathers on its throat. It has been known to carry off children, and its daring is so great that it will attack grown-up animals, and even men, if it sees them at the edge of a precipice, over which it seeks to hurl them by a stroke of its wing. Its power of swallowing and digesting is extraordinary. It consumes not only the flesh of its victims, but the hair, skin, and all but the largest bones. Bones as much as fifteen inches long have been found in the creature's maw. In winter and spring it frequents the cliffs of inaccessible rocks, in summer the highest peaks, above which it sails in the blue ether, looking out for prey amongst the flocks on the alps below. The golden eagle (steinadler), though of smaller size, is as bold as the vulture, and quicker in its movements, and is equally dangerous to the young animals on the alps. Several other species of eagle are found, but they are not permanent denizens of Switzerland.

The lämmergeier and steinadler are found only in Uri and Unterwalden. A specimen occasionally passes from Uri into Schwyz, and still more rarely from Unterwalden into the wilder parts of the Entlebuch. A schreiadler (*aquila nævia*) was shot in 1855 at Langensand, not far from Lucerne.

Various kinds of falcons, kites, and hawks are found, some of which, such as the kestrel and peregrine falcon, do almost as much damage as the eagle and vulture.

Cranes, herons, and water-hens frequent the shores of the

Lake of Lucerne. A wild swan or a black stork is an occasional visitor. The white stork was formerly not uncommon at Lucerne. Cysat says that he once (1661) counted thirty-five nests, but in later times they have disappeared. The nest on the water-tower was occupied for the last time in 1837.

In Uri and Schwyz are found two poisonous snakes (*vipera redü* and *vipera prester*). The blindworm and common snake abound in all the four cantons; the latter reach sometimes the length of six feet.

In the Lake of Lucerne pike, salmon, and trout of great size are caught. Salmon (*salmo salar*) are caught in the Reuss, in the Urserenthal, though it seems incredible that they could have passed the falls of the Reuss at the Devil's-bridge. But the trout of finest quality and colour are found in some of the smaller Alpine lakes, such as the Oberalpsee. In this lake is also found the Alpine frog (*rana alpina*) with brown back and yellow belly, where for nine months of the year it is covered with ice. It is supposed to pass the winter in a dormant condition. Not unfrequently on a dewy morning the mountain paths are covered with the black salamander, and the larger one (*S. maculata*), black with yellow spots, occurs here and there.

In the insect world the beetles largely predominate in the Forest Cantons, as in the rest of Switzerland. The carnivorous beetles increase in number proportionately to the height, whilst the graminivorous decrease. The brilliance of their colours, too, passes away. Whilst in the plain and lower alps we find them of the most brilliant colours, higher up they are of a black, or some quite sombre colour. This is said to arise from the fact that the beetles in these regions have to pass the greater part of their existence in darkness, removed from the colouring effects of sun and light. Again, many of these creatures, which in lower regions are winged, are found on the higher alps without wings, and this peculiarity is ascribed to a provision of nature to prevent them rising into

the icy solitudes, where they must inevitably perish. The various species of flies, gnats, and clegs, which worry man and beast alike, seldom rise above seven thousand feet. Of butterflies and moths there are some two thousand kinds. The proportion of the former to the latter increases rapidly, as the height increases. In the lower alps it is as one is to six; in the upper alps as four is to eleven; and in the snow regions as two is to one. The cause of this change is due chiefly to the want of food supplies for the caterpillar as soon as the limit of the woods is reached. Nearly one hundred species of butterflies are found in the Forest Cantons, of which the most to be admired will be *Parnassius Apollo*, *Papilio podalirius*, and *Machaon*; *Apatura iris*, *Vanessa Antiopa*, and *Polychloros*; and the numerous species of *Erebia*, which abound more as the traveller rises higher. Many species of *Hipparchia* and *Melitæa* are found on the Pilatus, and at its foot the rare beetles *Scarabæus sacer* and *Odezia tibiata*.

CHAPTER XII.

LUCERNE: CANTON AND TOWN.

IN 750 A.D. a convent was founded, and endowed in Lucerne by Wykard, the brother of Rupert, Duke of Alamannia. In 795 this was incorporated with the Abbey of Murbach, in Alsace. Lands, partly in the neighbourhood and partly at a distance, were given to the Abbey by various nobles, until the whole amounted to sixteen properties, of which Lucerne was the chief. Of these nine were near Lucerne, three, namely, Alpnach, Stans, and Giswyl, in Unterwalden, and four in Aargau. These properties remained under the rule of the Abbey (administered by a deputy) until 1291, when the Abbot Berchtold of Falkenstein sold them to Rudolph of Habsburg, to the great dissatisfaction of the inhabitants. Lucerne succeeded in getting rid of the Austrian bailiffs, and in 1332 became allied with the Three Lands, whom she had opposed at Morgarten. The first great extension of her territory took place after the victory of Sempach, when she acquired Entlebuch, Malters, Littau, Kriens, and Horw to the south and south-west; Rothenburg, Sempach, Hochdorf, and Root to the north and north-west; and her territory was about half the size of the present canton. In 1406 she acquired the Lordship of Habsburg, which included Adligenschwyl and Udligenschwyl in the north-east, Meggen and Greppen to the east, on the Bay of Küssnacht, and Meierskappel. In 1407 she acquired by purchase the district of Willisau, including Dagmarsellen and other villages to the north-west. In 1415, after joining the

Emperor Sigismund in attacking the Habsburgs, she obtained the valleys of the Wigger, Suren, and Wynon, and the district of Münster on the north. She also acquired on this occasion the Upper Freiamt (southern half of Canton Aargau), but this was afterwards made over to the eight cantons. The canton had now nearly assumed its present form. In 1422 she purchased Gislikon and Honau on the north-east; in 1455 Buren and Triengen in the north-west; in 1473 Ebikon, just north of Lucerne; and in 1476 the lordship of Wyken, just north of Triengen.

In 1803 the district of Merenschwand, which had in 1392 voluntarily attached itself to Lucerne, was allotted to Canton Aargau in exchange for Hitzkirch, at the northern end of the Lake of Baldegg, so that the boundary on the east followed the water-shed between the Reuss and the Lakes of Baldegg and Hallwyl.

Our knowledge of the houses of old Lucerne is derived largely from the engravings in old histories, such as Diebold Schilling (1510), and from maps which are almost pictures. That of Martini (1597) is more accurate in detail; that of Schumacher (1790) more just in proportion.

The town of Lucerne, in very early times, was enclosed by an inner line of defences, the traces of which have almost entirely disappeared. This line ran from the Spreuer (Mühler) brücke (where the Basel Gate was, near the present Caserne) along the present cattle market, and the Lower Hirschgraben, as far as the Kriensbach. Here it turned at almost right angles along the Upper Hirschgraben to the Kapellbrücke. This bridge was defended by palisades and floating beams, fastened by chains, to prevent an enemy entering by the river. On the other side a wall was built as far as the Hofbrücke, and the shore of the lake was lined with palisades as far as the present Schweizerhof. Here there was an opening to admit of the passage of boats. Here there was a fort, and from this a ditch (grendel) and wall ran northwards to the outer

Weggisgasse. Here it turned south-west, along the line of this street and the present Löwengraben (which is the old ditch covered over, 1582), to the gate called Mulithor, where the line of fortifications rejoins the Spreuerbrücke. There were eight gates in this line, three on the south and five on the north side of the river. This line of defence is well seen in the third picture on the Kapellbrücke.

The outer line of fortifications, extending across the Musegg, and on the other side to the top of the Gutsch, were built about the beginning of the 15th century, though some of the towers are probably much older. The church of St. Leodegar, with its churchyard, chapels, and other dependencies, long remained undefended. About the end of the 16th century a wall was built round them, and connected by a line of works with the fortifications on the Musegg.

Originally only a fishing village, Lucerne attained the dignity of a town about the beginning of the 12th century. The houses were then entirely of wood, which were only very gradually replaced by stone. The first stone house was built in 1398, near the Schwarzthor, between Inner and Outer Weggisgasse. In the pictures on the Kapellbrücke the houses are seen to be very irregular; houses of wood and stone, high and low, adjoining one another. Building a stone house was often made a condition of admission to the citizenship of Lucerne.

The houses being at first entirely of wood, the regulations to prevent fires were very strict. No wood, whether for burning or building, was to remain more than one night in the street. Between vespers and early mass no smith's work was allowed, no threshing or winnowing, no working with tow or melted tallow, and no juniper wood or small twigs might be burned. The fire brigade was composed of citizens, who in case of a fire had to remain until dismissed by the mayor; the women had to stand at the doors of their houses with lights; the members of the Klein and Gross Rath, armed with axes, formed a guard. The gates were closed every night at curfew,

and the streets patrolled by one member of the Klein Rath, two of the Gross Rath, three citizens, and a sergeant (weibel). Not until 1764, at the instance of Valentin Meyer, the town council employed a paid watch and guard of 150 men, and the members of the council could sleep undisturbed. The Pfistergasse (Baker-street), which runs along the course of the Kriensbach towards the Spreuerbrücke, was the scene of frequent fires. Near the broad arches through which the bridge is approached is the Arsenal (Zeughaus), long famous for the treasures of antiquity which it contained. These are now transferred to the rooms of the Art Society. By the lowest bridge over the Kriensbach, at the corner of the Munzgasse, is the Korporations Haus, where now is the town library and part of the archives. Next door to it is a house called "Stipendihaus," built in 1584 by L. J. and R. Pfyffer for the use of students of the family. It was much damaged by the earthquake of 1602. This earthquake was one of the most severe that ever visited Lucerne. The Reuss dried up, so that people could pass over on foot.

From the Schmiedgasse the Baarfüssergasse (Franciscan-street) leads to the square and church of the same name. The cross on the house behind the fountain is said to date from 1529, when Thomas Murner exhorted the men of Lucerne to go to the fight at Kappel. The painted windows for which the church was famous were destroyed by the explosion of the powder magazine in 1701. They were replaced by others, which afterwards were again removed for the sake of light. This church was supported by many wealthy families round Lucerne, the members of which were mostly buried here. There were here once some notable curiosities, such as the famous Gothic monstrance containing the blood of St. Francis, and the coat of mail worn by Duke Leopold at the battle of Sempach, which the carelessness of the guardians have allowed to be abstracted.

Amongst the men who laboured here perhaps the most

noticeable are John of Winterthur, the historian; and later in the period of the Reformation, Dr. Thomas Murner, who encouraged the people of Lucerne to fight at Kappel. In this convent were sometimes lodged distinguished guests. Rudolf of Habsburg, in March, 1283, and in October, 1285. King Albrecht, with his sons Rudolf and Friedrich, in 1299. The Emperor Sigismund, in 1417, lodged for three days in the convent at the cost of the State, amounting to 250 guld. For more than two centuries the town council used to hold its meetings here. It was also used as a prison. Felix Hämmerlin, Chorherr (minor canon) of Zürich, Chorherr Durler, in 1712, &c., were imprisoned here; and in 1847 the members of the Sonderbund Government.

In the Baarfüssergasse was the Inn Schlüssel, at which Carlo Borromeo alighted when he came to Lucerne to insist on the carrying out of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and after the Borromean league had been concluded in 1586 the Pope's Nuncio resided here.

In the Kropfgasse, which leads to the old Spital,* Jost von Silenen, Bishop of Grenoble and Sion, at one time the agent of Louis XI. of France in Switzerland, built himself a fine house, choosing the situation, not for the beauty of the prospect, but for the quiet. His expectations, however, were defeated, apparently on purpose, by the Council of Lucerne, who in 1494 built a public wash-house close by, in spite of the objections of the bishop, who concluded with reason that they had forgotten the great benefits he had conferred on them. Four years after, the once famous diplomatist, despised by the Emperor, and excommunicated by the Pope, was buried at Rome in unconsecrated ground.

At the end of this street was the old Heiliggeist Spital. This was founded about 1100, and was originally of wood. It was rebuilt several times, and at last transferred to its present position near the "Obere Thor" in the "Obere Grund." It

* Hospital.

was used quite as much as a poor-house as a hospital. The doctor attached to the institution received from the State a salary varying from 120 to 200 gulden, with house and firing, and a number of other perquisites. He was bound to attend gratuitously to the people in the Spital, as also to the monks of the poorer orders, the Franciscans, Jesuits, and Capuchins. The hospital was supported largely by the fines imposed by the council. Here were received pilgrims and foundlings, and amongst other poor and old people the decayed members of the Town Council. Their poverty was certainly thought then no disgrace, for in 1489 we find a resolution passed by the Council, that those of its members who were in the Spital, seeing they were elected for life, should not be excluded from their meetings, as long as they had not otherwise disgraced themselves.

When a member of the Council died, it was the custom to hang out for two days on the Spitalkirche an old black mantle with a fur border. For this the heirs had to pay to the Spital one gulden. Amongst the various founders and donors of this Spital, perhaps the most interesting was Christoph Haller von Hallenstein, lord of Waldstein and Sporeck. Born at Nuremberg in 1510, he had visited as Hofherr (court chamberlain) almost all the princely courts in Europe. He was Hofherr of Spain, of Savoy, and of the empire, Imperial advocate, Count Palatine; he was knighted by Charles V. on his way to St. Juste. With the most distinguished recommendations, but with very limited means, the old politician came in 1579 to Lucerne, where he received the freedom of the town. From Lucerne he urged his claims upon the Duke of Savoy, in whose service as Hofmeister and Imperial ambassador he had long laboured for the restitution of Vaud to Savoy. Before his death in 1581, Haller bequeathed to the Spital out of the sum he expected from the Duke of Savoy, the sum of 2,000 crowns, and a like sum to the Hofkirche. When however, in 1583, his son Bartholomew and the town clerk of Lucerne, Rennward Cysat, examined the

accounts in Turin, it turned out that far from the Duke owing Haller anything, the latter owed the Duke 400 crowns. The Duke not only renounced this debt, but generously gave to the Spital the sum of 4,000 crowns. When this sum was paid with interest, the Council of Lucerne gave to the Spital 3,000 gulden, to the creditors 1,100 gulden, and a small legacy to the Hofkirche. They also erected in the Hofkirche a monument of brass to this remarkable man, who had once been in the debtors' prison at Augsburg for two years. The monument was destroyed in the fire of 1633. Between the Baarfüsser Platz and the Freienhof (near the Kapellbrücke), the Mayor of Lucerne, Lucas Ritter, colonel in the French service, and considered the most distinguished "Eidgenoss"* of his day, commenced in 1556 a palace in the Florentine Renaissance style, which in size and beauty surpassed all the other buildings in Lucerne. As architect, he employed John von Lyn, then at work in Zürich, who built the palace as far as the second storey. The architect and employer quarrelled, partly on financial questions, but more by reason of their divergent religious views. Ritter accused Lyn of heresy; he was condemned and executed on May 8th, 1559. As he passed by the "Palast zum Affenwagen" (so Ritter's new house was named) on the fatal day, he called on the mayor to follow him into the valley of Jehoshaphat. Ritter, who then lay on his sick-bed, died the next day. After his death the Council took over the uncompleted building from his heirs, and employed Solbiolo de Ponte, who had built a palace for Ferdinand of Gonzaga, and was then occupied in building a palace at Lugano. A want of harmony in the whole is said to be due to a quarrel, which broke out in 1561, between the Italian and the town architect. In 1572 the council had various changes made with a view of holding their sittings there. But in 1577, before the roof was on, the building was made over to the Jesuits, who since 1574 had been in the Franciscan church

* Confederate.

and cloister. They occupied the palace from 1578 to 1774. The wings of the building were added—the west in 1684, and the east in 1756, and, with the church, which was built in 1587 to 1594, on the site of the old Guildhall, this was the most imposing mass of buildings in Lucerne. Until 1677, this church formed the centre of religious life in Lucerne. Many brotherhoods, to the annoyance of the Franciscans, held their services there; and the Jesuits kept constantly forming new societies, whose indulgences could only be obtained in the Jesuit Church. The greatest religious ceremonies took place, not in the Pfarr (Hof) kirche, but here. They were distinguished by excellence of preaching and by pomp of ceremonial. When the great congregation was held, on December 8th, the number of lights sometimes reached 3,000. The present church, at the east end of the Ritter Palace, was built 1667 to 1677. The part of the palace near the present Post-office was destroyed—1841 to 1843—to make room for the present Council-hall.

Near the old Spital and the Kropfgasse was the Stube or hall of the oldest guild in Lucerne, that of the (Krämer) tradesmen. This is mentioned as early as 1385, and was formed of many different trades.

In 1451, when this guild was united with the Schutzen (gentry) guild, whose hall adjoined the "Affenwagen," and was called Herrenstube, it included no less than thirteen trades — carpenters, cabinetmakers, stonecutters, masons, sculptors, potters, ropemakers, &c. The Affenwagen then became the hall of the united guilds, and was henceforward called Herrenstube. Here matters of State were often discussed, and on great occasions, such as national successes, the conclusion of treaties, the passage of allied troops, &c., there were grand doings. The Council of Lucerne sent wine in abundance. Here the members assembled to hear accounts of victories won, and the songs written to celebrate them. Here they came to listen to Hans Fründ's account of the old

Zürich war, as the Greeks at Olympia listened to Thucydides. This was the most important guild in Lucerne, and was favoured by the Council. In the dispute between it and the rope-maker Hammerer, the Council decreed that if he wished to exercise this trade he must pay for his admission into the "Safran" guild. In return for this the Guild instituted the "Fritschi" procession with its costly banquet. (See chapter vii.) The guilds in Lucerne were limited in number, each including many often diverse trades. They were much like the modern trades unions. No one might exercise a trade unless he belonged to the guild in which it was included. Nor could any master have more than a certain number of apprentices, nor take any business away from another master. The halls of most of the other eight guilds were in the Wine Market. That of the tailors was in the adjoining Brandgasslein. Until Lucerne was split off from the Diocese of Constanz, in 1814, the clergy of Lucerne had the right of using this hall. Tailors and clergy met here, sometimes as friends, sometimes as foes. In the time of the Reformation there were often lively disputes here, and the Stubenmeister had often to appeal to the Dean and Chapter (under the Provost Beromünster) to enforce his orders against the clergy. Ludwig Seiler, who commanded at Münster and Bellinzona (1478), and Frischaus Theiling, were members of this guild.

In 1798 free trade came in, and the guilds ceased to have power. Some of them had considerable property, and these had mostly before 1870 realized their property and divided it amongst their members. The bakers' guild divided to each of twenty-four members 3,300 francs; the butchers' guild to its ten members, the same amount; the fishers' guild, to each of eight members, 2,200 francs.

The Kapellbrücke dates from 1333, and was originally only a line of defence. About 1600 the Council formed the idea of ornamenting it with paintings, and the then town clerk, Rennward Cysat, was commissioned to draw up a plan. He

searched Swiss history and legend and Bible history with a view to show that in Swiss history, as in that of the Jews, the course of events was directed by a divine hand. Famous places of pilgrimage were to be introduced, and, above all, the lives of their patron saints, St. Leodegar and St. Maurice, were to be illustrated. Not before 1611 was the plan laid before the Council. Each member of the Council was invited to undertake the cost of one picture. The verses were written by Cysat and Hans Rudolf von Sonnenberg.

In 1742 some paintings had been injured and others lost. Some had apparently found their way into private houses. It was determined that any one who bore the expense of restoring a "tafel" might have his arms depicted on it. The cost was almost entirely defrayed from private sources.

In 1756 Hans Suter, painter and poet, undertook to keep the paintings in order for 2 malters (malter = about 200 pounds) of corn per annum, and he restored those on all the three bridges.

The pictures made disposable by the removal of part of the Kapellbrücke in 1837, were ordered to be sold, but the Art Society preserved them, and they are now in the arcades of the Wasserthurm. Objections have been made to this bridge both by the Urkantone, and by the inhabitants on the river bank; but these have fortunately been overruled, and this treasure of old Lucerne still remains. The connection between the pictures and their donors can be seen in various instances. Thus John H. Pfyffer had the gymnasium, "stipendihaus," painted, which was founded by his ancestor Schultheiss L. Pfyffer. L. Pfyffer had painted the picture of Anna Vögtlin, because one of his ancestors in 1447 had sat in the court which tried her. L. von Wyl had painted the "Mordnacht" of Lucerne, because it was said to have taken place close to his house. Very interesting is the picture representing the execution of the two Christian martyrs, Ursus and Victor, at Soleure, by an instrument called the "welschfalle," resembling the guillotine.

The town of Lucerne was originally divided into nine quarters, but later (1550–1800) into seven. As mentioned above, the positions of the streets and squares have from very early times remained the same as at present. From the middle of the fourteenth century down to the seventeenth there was always a watch kept during divine service in the Hofkirche in case of fire.

The chapel of St. Peter, between the Kapellbrücke and Platz, is said to date from 1170. In it, besides the paintings of Paul Deschwänden, are to be noted a monument, above the pulpit, in commemoration of the fight at Arbedo, near Bellinzona, in 1422, in which ten members of the Klein Rath, thirty of the Gross Rath, and sixty-three other citizens of Lucerne perished. It represented the arms of Lucerne and Uri surrounded by a chain and supported by two savages. When this monument was restored in 1511 the men of Uri were so pleased that they offered to have a painted window representing the same arms put in at the expense of the Canton, and said the handsomer the "stierli" (bull) was the better they would be pleased.

In this church the citizens of Lucerne met twice every year on St. John's Day (June 24 and December 27) and took the oath. Here were debated questions of war and peace; here the new members of the Rath were announced and sworn in. The proceedings were always opened by the mayor with prayer, but there were often heated disputes. The tumult inside led sometimes to gross disorder outside. In 1403 a challenge was given in the church, which was fought out in the churchyard, which had in consequence to be re-consecrated.

On the south side of this church is the house of the family zur Gilgen. The house that formerly stood on this site was one of the finest in old Lucerne. It was burned in 1495, and rebuilt in 1500, and again in 1702. It has belonged to the zur Gilgen for more than three hundred years. Should the family become extinct the house becomes the property of

the State, which is to devote a certain sum of money to found an anniversary service. Opposite this house, at the corner of the Kapellgasse, were the houses of the chaplain and sacristan of St. Peter's. These two houses were once the property of the Dukes of Austria when they were only Counts of Habsburg, and they lodged here on the occasion of their earlier visit to Lucerne. When they became dukes they lodged with the Franciscans. They intended building a palace on the site of these two houses, but the death of Duke Albrecht (May 1, 1308) put an end to the project.

Opposite the Brunnen at the corner, at the time of the Reformation, lived Martin Schryber, town clerk, historian, surgeon, and political agitator. He first described the Drachenstein, the meteorite weighing 427 lbs., which fell in 1421, and which is still in the possession of the family of Meyer von Schauensee. Meyer von Schauensee was a patrician of Lucerne, and one of the earliest and most zealous supporters of liberty in 1798. After Schryber came the family Balthasar, who ornamented the house with frescoes of Wilhelm Tell in peasant costume with crossbow, unfortunately whitewashed over in 1879.

Opposite this house was the greatest curiosity of old Lucerne, which, strangely enough, neither visitor nor connoisseur noticed till its destruction was inevitable. This was the house of the Hertenstein family, with the frescoes by Hans Holbein the younger. The Hertensteins had the house from 1486. The frescoes were executed 1517–1519. The house was composed of two buildings, with windows of different sizes, and it required all Holbein's skill to produce a harmonious effect. The wall of the basement was unpainted. On the façade of the first floor were painted three female figures; above these were two groups of youths playing and contending together. Between the windows were the arms of Hertenstein and of his four wives. The inside of the house was also probably painted by Holbein. Sketches for these were found amongst Holbein's drawings at

Basel. Five of the rooms were still in good condition in 1824. At this time the house came into the hands of Friederich Knorr, who had it pulled down. The frescoes and internal decorations were then copied by members of the Art Society. This house was the finest and most ornamented in Lucerne. The family, by official and military service, by wealthy alliances and trade, had amassed great wealth.

Lucerne was esteemed in foreign countries to be one of the richest towns in the world.

Louis XI. of France is said to have asked an officer if the houses in Lucerne were not covered with gold, because he had had sent enough; and the reply was, that if a canal was made from Paris to Lucerne the blood shed by the Swiss for France would fill it. But the wealth was appropriated by the ruling families: the common people were poor.

The Hertensteins soon fell from their proud estate; the daughters of the haughty family were glad to wed with butchers and tanners. Some remains of the decorations—Lucretia's hand with the dagger, Tarquinius Collatinus—are still to be seen on the wall of the adjoining stable. Drawings made from them are in the town library of Lucerne.

Hertenstein's fourth wife survived him, and through her the people of Lucerne were informed of the intention of Zwingli (in 1530) to coerce Lucerne and the Three Lands by stopping the supplies of salt. She overheard, in a tavern at Zürich, Zwingli conversing with three deputies from Bern.

"Well now," said Zwingli, "I have made many attempts to bring the five cantons to our way of thinking, but all is tried in vain with these pine logs, mountain blocks, and hovels. But if you will take my advice, I know the best way to compel them, and that is to stop the supplies of salt, which they cannot do without, since most of their business is with cattle, and such like." Then noticing the lady he said: "My good

lady, pay no attention to our talk. I knew your deceased husband well, and respected him, and have often eaten and drunk with him. What would your people in Lucerne say if they knew you were with Zwingli?" To this she replied, "As to the conversation, by your pleasure, I have nothing to say; but make no remark as to my being here, since we are in a public-house. If I were to take you to my house in Lucerne it would be very improper."

Opposite the Hertenstein house, at the corner of the Kapellgasse, was the house of the family Keller, which settled here in 1584, and gave many good councillors and soldiers to Lucerne. The secularist mayor, Xavier Keller, met a tragic fate on September 12th, 1816. On that day he attended a council meeting, from which he never returned home. His body was found in the river. It was a time when party passions ran high, and it was supposed (though it could never be proved) that his enemies pushed him into the river as he was returning by the side walk, "Unter der Ecke."

Parallel to the Kapellgasse, on the south, is the Furregasse. The inn "zur Sonne" in this street is probably that in which Heinrich Hasfurter lived—a remarkable, though not a great man. He dressed like a beggar, was blind of one eye, and lame; but in spite of these deficiencies he was a man of energy, and rose to the position of mayor. He commanded the troops of Lucerne at Grandson and Nancy. In the latter battle he so distinguished himself that he was presented with a gold chain and knighted. Yet his enemies said he was a coward, and the men of Schwyz blamed him for their heavy loss at Grandson. He received pensions from all countries, France, Lorraine, Savoy, Milan, and Hungary, and so accumulated great wealth. But his domestic life was unhappy; his grandsons squandered his money, and his daughter was reduced to beggary.

In the lane which leads from the Furregasse to the river is

the inn Mostrose, declared by Cysat, though on erroneous grounds, to be the oldest house in Lucerne, since Kaiser Lothair alighted there in 1135. However, this inn certainly had to supply twenty-six beds on the occasion of the visit of the Cardinal Archduke Albrecht of Austria in August, 1559. He came from Milan, over the St. Gotthard, with a *suite* of two thousand persons, and the town was greatly perplexed how to accommodate them.

The Furregasse is connected with the Kapellgasse by Paradiesgasse, so called from the house "zur Paradies," occupied by Melchior Schilterberg, who was outlawed for his leaning to the doctrines of Zwingli, but was rehabilitated for his bravery in the fight at Kappel, in 1531.

The small open space or square between the Vordere and Hintere Ledergasse was made to prevent the spread of fires. Here, as the name implies, were many tanners and workers in leather, of whom the most noted were the family Golder. Hans Golder was mayor of Lucerne, and commanded at the battle of Kappel, of which he wrote an account.

Where the present Swan Hotel stands was the house of the family Schumacher, famous in the history of the Patriciate of Lucerne as the great rivals of the Meyer family.

Between the Swan and the Hofthor (the one towards the Hofkirche) was the house of the Durler family. They made their fortunes in the French service, and their star sank with the Bourbons. The family still possess two interesting relics, the order of Louis XVI. to the Swiss guard, bidding them lay down their arms and retire to their barracks, and a letter of Louis XVIII. to Ober-lieutenant Durler, dated September 6th, 1795.

The Kapellgasse communicates with the Weggisgasse by two streets, named Vordere and Hintere Eisengasse, the latter passing through the "Sternenplatz."

The present inn "zum Ochs," was the guildhall of the smiths. Behind it was the house of the well-known family of

Silenen, whose original seat was near Amsteg, on the St. Gotthard. (See chapter x.)

Between (east of) the Ledergasse and the lake was the landing-place where, in early times almost as much as in the present day, the touters from the numerous inns came to waylay the pilgrims. The nuisance became so great that in 1421 it was forbidden on pain of £1 fine.

The Hofbrücke, said to date from 833, which was removed in 1857 and replaced by the present iron bridge, crossed a part of the lake which has now been filled up. It was one thousand three hundred and eighty feet long, and was adorned with one hundred and nineteen double paintings from sacred history. On these were the names of the donors or restorers.

The chapel on the bridge was built by Rudolf Pfyffer (1620), famous in the Huguenot wars (see chapter x.), and bore his arms. When his heirs subsequently refused to bear the cost of maintaining the chapel, the council had the arms effaced. This bridge was a favourite rendezvous, not only of the gilded youth of Lucerne of both sexes, but of the authorities, of foreign ambassadors, and other distinguished visitors.

Between the Inner and Outer Weggisgasse was the Black gate and tower. Near this, at the corner of the Strahlgasse, was the house of Frischaus Theiling, the hero of Giornico. (See chapter x.)

In the middle of the Inner Weggisgasse was the Grächenthor, leading to the Musegg, the oldest fortified place in Lucerne.

At one end of the Rössligasse, leading to the Muhlenplatz, were the Rössli (W) and the Adler (E). These two inns had, from 1651–1770, the exclusive right of selling Valteline wine. They were the chief inns of the town before the new hotels were built on the shore of the lake. Between the Rössli and the Reussbrücke a street fight, called the "Mordnacht of Lucerne," is said to have taken place, in which 14 to 16 members of the council were slain, but the story is doubtful. The most distinguished (? notorious) guest of the Rössli was probably

Bishop Peter Louis de Rieux, who came in 1507 to dissuade the Confederates from the alliance with the king of the Romans. He threw money about like water; gave a banquet to eight hundred peasants at once. He is said to have spent in Lucerne about 120,000 crowns (£6,400). The authorities at last forbade him the town.

The old Rathhaus in the corn market, west of the Kapellgasse, is, next to the Ritter Palace, one of the most striking buildings in Lucerne. The frescoes on it have often been changed. First, the battle of Sempach; then in 1502 a reposing savage; in 1589 the giant of Reiden; and finally the death of Peter Gundoldingen. For a long time the people of Lucerne were proud of this building, but it is now falling to pieces through neglect.

Opposite the Rathhaus is a house with a very high roof, said to have been raised by Jacob Balthasar (mayor of Lucerne, 1724), to prevent the members of the Klein Rath from seeing the clock on the Musegg during his long speeches.

The wine market is divided into two parts between the "Sonne" and the river. At this inn Kunegger, from Obwald, alighted when the men of Unterwalden marched to St. Gall, in 1489. The men of Obwalden were suspected of having instigated the rising in Entlebuch in 1480, for which the unfortunate Peter Amstalden, of Escholzmatt, was executed, and the feeling in Lucerne was very bitter against them. The mob surrounded the house, and tried to lynch Kunegger. The mayor (Kramer) succeeded in pacifying them, and effecting his escape.

At the great fountain in this market was erected the staging for the Easter Play, which, like that at Oberammergau, grew to great proportions. (See chapter vii.)

Where the square on the south side descends towards the Reuss was the house, "zum Rothen Gatter," where Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg lodged in 1519. He was in

very bad circumstances, and had to appeal to the Council of Lucerne against the landlord's high charges. Before he migrated to Mumpelgard, whither the humanist (Schilling) followed him as court musician, he ascended the Pilatus, 1520.

Between the Rössligasse and the Spreuerbrücke the Mühlen Platz was formed (1400), by the demolition of the houses between two streets, Vorder and Hinter Mühlengasse. Here the house number 198 belonged to the family Ruttiman. The house number 176, opposite to this, now in the hands of the family Bell, once belonged to Marshal Franz Ludwig Pfyffer ôf Wyher. This is one of the most noticeable private houses in Lucerne, built in the Florentine style, with rich furniture and fine wood carvings. The marshal, until the French revolution, received a pension of 15,000 francs (£600) from France. When his wife, Anna Maria Demel, died in 1780, she was buried with some valuable jewels. The grave was broken open, and after the fine clothes and jewels had been removed, the supposed dead woman arose and walked home in her shift. She lived twenty years after, and is said never to have smiled.

The inhabitants of this house exercised a remarkable influence on the social life of Lucerne. In the middle of the 18th century the young Swiss officers in the French service, on leave, grew weary of their dull life at home, and took to paying their court to the Marshal's wife. The house soon became the centre of attraction to all the young people, and was gay with lively conversation and other amusements, much to the horror of the staid elders. Other fashionable Italian families who had settled in the town—Cornejo, Jover, Isatia, &c.—aided in the process of conversion. The mothers led the way, the daughters followed; household cares were thrown to the winds; excursions on the lake, parties, and balls were the order of the day. The blame of all this was laid on the French, and the Pfyffer family in particular.

The council long strove manfully against these innovations, and many sumptuary laws were issued, the last as late as 1790, regulating dress, card playing, &c. These rules, however, were only enforced on the ordinary citizens. The patricians might do as they liked.

West of the Wine Market runs the Judengasse. The Jews were not allowed in Lucerne until it came under the Habsburgs. King Rudolf shewed them some favour, and found them useful in his financial difficulties. When he was crowned at Frankfort, in 1273, he had Jews for his chamberlains. One Jew in his suite, named Ebinlang, was seven feet in height, surpassing the king by two inches, but falling short by four inches of the Knight of Baldegg.

After the Austrian rule the Jews fell into much disfavour. A tax was laid upon them, and a permit of residence required. In 1349 they were accused of causing the pestilence by poisoning the wells. Jewish doctors were, however, highly esteemed, and the position of the Jews generally improved after 1798.

The Spreuerbrücke dates from 1308. In 1566 it was carried away by a flood. The old bridge was without ornament. The pictures on the present bridge (painted 1626–32, and often since restored) were mostly presented by private persons, whose portraits are not unfrequently introduced. The painter, Caspar Meglinger, is represented in number fifty-six (the Day of Judgment), and Hans Jorg Hunkeler, who aided in restoring the pictures in 1727, has introduced himself in number six as a doctor. There were formerly sixty-seven pictures, but now only fifty-six.

At this bridge persons used to embark to make the passage to Rheinfelden, above Basel. In 1686 a regular boat service was established, with fixed charges for carrying goods and passengers. The concession cost 150 gulden. The enterprise failed for want of custom.

The boatmen of Lucerne were famous, and in 1278 one of

them is said to have wagered he would go to Strasburg in a day. This passage was made in 1551 by Captain Jost von Meggen, with his servant.

The line of towers across the Musegg dates from 1385, but it is probable that some of the towers are much older, and that at the above date the connecting wall was built between the towers.

The Musegg is not so remarkable for its position, though the view is unequalled, as for the procession called the "Romfahrt," which takes place yearly, on the day of the Annunciation. (See chapter vii.) This procession has only twice since 1252 failed to take place on the appointed day. In 1653 it was deferred until July 25th, on account of the peasant war, and in 1785, on account of the deep snow, it was put off until March 17th, and then only took place in the town. The priest who delivered the sermon in 1553 was Domitius Hurilaeus, archbishop of Cashel, who was afterwards martyred.

The nine towers on the Musegg are in a line, running east and west. The most western tower, Nollithurm, was formerly called Red Tower.

There was formerly on the site a castle called Lugaten. When the Abbot of Murbach came to Lucerne he was met here by the Prior, butler, and steward of the Convent in Hof, and the twelve canons.

The best known of the towers is that called Lugisland, said to have been built in 1290. Here watchmen were stationed, whose duty it was, in case of fire, to signal to the fire brigade in the town by blowing a horn. The tower and the figure on it were restored in 1826. The next tower was the Henthurm, which was used as a powder magazine. On July 30th, 1701, at 2 p.m., during a violent storm, the magazine, containing about one and a half tons of gunpowder, exploded. Almost all the windows in the town were broken, and many houses damaged. Three workmen engaged in repairing the outer wall were killed. After this the powder was stored in two separate places outside of the town.

The old Zytthurm, with the clock, which was made for the Graggenthurm in Basel, is said by Cysat to be the oldest tower. It stands on the site of the castle of Tannenberg, built by the Abbot of Murbach in 1261, which was destroyed by the people of Lucerne. It was a very unimportant schloss, since the abbot was compensated with thirty silver marks.

Through the Schirmenthurm and gate was the way to Zürich. This gate is mentioned in documents as early as 1375, and in 1408 an order was given that it should remain open till 10 p.m.

The Bulfer (? Pulver) or Holdermeyerthurm dates from 1408. In 1571 a certain Jost Holdermeyer was permitted to plant vines on his land within the wall.

The tower Allenwinden was named from the estate on which it stands. Near this was a kind of earthwork, called Landsknechtenloch, where the Landsknechti (? volunteers) were refreshed during the processions of the guild of riflemen.

Next came the Tächlithurm. This was in 1625 used as a powder magazine. The last of the nine was the outer Weggisthurm.

The Hofkirche is supposed to have been built about 500 A.D., on the site of an ancient chapel of S. Nicholas. This lay in a special quarter (Hof quarter), and was approached by the greater Hofthor. This quarter was long under the special jurisdiction of the Prior. Though restricted by the Bishop of Constanz, the Prior and Canons kept up a great state. The Prior wore a mitre, and the Canons gold crosses. The Hof quarter was not surrounded with a wall till the beginning of the 14th century, on the occasion of an inroad by the Three Lands. In 1479 the State acquired the rights of the Prior over the town. The Convent, however, retained all the houses and gardens between the outer Weggis Gate and the Hofkirche, and these paid no town dues until 1798.

The origin of the Hofkirche is very uncertain. The historian

Tschudi says that after the destruction of Windisch (Vindonissa, near Brugg, at the confluence of the Reuss and Aar), Lucerne became the capital of the Burgundian kings in Aargau. When the Burgundian kingdom was conquered by France, its kings gave Aargau to their relation Wickard (or Wigbert), and Zürichgau and Thurgau to his brother Rupert (or Ampert). The two brothers stirred up Ebroin (?) to rebellion against Leodegar, the Bishop of Autun. To expiate this crime, by order of King Ludwig two convents were founded in Lucerne and Zürich, about 697–700 A.D. Other historians give different dates. It is certain the Convent was re-established by Abbot Wickard in the 9th century. Up to 1599 the statue and tomb of the first founder, Wickard, were over the portal. The pictures in old books and maps (Diebold Schilling and Martini) are so incomplete that we can form little idea of the old church. This was burnt on Easter Monday, 1633, but most of the treasures it contained were saved. The new church was commenced in the same year, was roofed in 1635, and consecrated in 1644. Both the churches were noted for fine organs and harmonious peals of bells. The people of Lucerne set great store on both of these. West of the church, towards the formerly swampy part called Wey, was the Prior's house, in the upper floor of which was the chapter-house. The Convent on Christmas-day had to entertain all the officials and young patricians, and on St. Maurice-day all the tithe-payers. In 1451 the peasants complained to the Council of Lucerne that the Custos did not feast them properly, whereupon the Rath ordered that the following dishes should always be served:—Cheese, honey, dressed and fresh meat, vegetables, roast and boiled fowls, a thick yellow soup (muotz),* pepper, two sorts of wine, and bread.

On the anniversary of the dedication of the church, and on St. Leodegar's-day the fifty-six members of the Klein Rath, and one hundred members of the Gross Rath, were invited

* Muotz = Mus.

and entertained by the Prior and Almoner. In 1582 the Convent bought themselves free of this festival for fifty gulden annually.

There was not unfrequently great jealousy between the Convent and town of Lucerne. In 1413 a law was passed forbidding anyone to leave a bequest to the Convent chargeable on any house in the town, for fear the town might pass into the power of the Convent. Soon after, when Prior Nicholas Bruder sought to acquire for the Convent the lordship over Lucerne, he was deprived of office, and executed November 29th, 1417. For a year after no one belonging to the Convent was allowed to enter the town.

There were many valuable farms on the Wesemlin and the neighbouring slopes. At the end of the 18th century these paid rents varying from one hundred to five hundred gulden. The relations between landlord and tenant were very satisfactory. The families remained for centuries on the same farm: an increase of rent was never thought of. Not unfrequently do we find a farmer's wife godmother to a patrician. The servants were invariably well treated, and not forgotten in the master's will.

CHAPTER XIII.

LAKE OF LUCERNE.

THE Lake of Lucerne occupies a middle position between the lakes of the plain and of the mountains, combining, as it does, the peculiarities of both. The soft beauty of the Bay of Lucerne or of Buochs contrasts with the wild grandeur of the Bay of Uri. It is incomparably the most varied in its attractions of all the Swiss lakes. Its shores have, besides, other charms than those of beauty. There is hardly a spot the tourist passes along its shores that does not suggest some historic recollection. But neither of its beauties nor of its historic associations can much be said here. All that is most striking and noteworthy is to be found in the pages of *Murray* or *Bædeker*. However, a few words may be mentioned, a few scenes presented, which may all be interesting and some of them novel to the reader. The lake is of extremely irregular shape, consisting of a series of arms or bays running to all points of the compass. To the south is the Bay of Uri extending north and south to a length of seven miles from Flüelen to Brunnen, and situated entirely in Canton Uri. The lake is here deepest, soundings of more than 800 feet having been taken. It is probable that in former ages the lake extended much further south, and that it is being gradually filled up by the deposits of the Reuss. Geologists have calculated that at the present rate of deposit, the bay will be entirely filled up in 20,000 years! Next to the Bay of Uri comes the middle bay, called also from the towns on its shore the Bay of Gersau, or

of Buochs. This runs from east to west, and has a length of about twelve miles. At its western end the lake is contracted between the two promontories of the Upper and the Lower Nase to a width of less than half a mile. The northern portion of the lake is of a shape almost cruciform, formed by the four Bays of Vitznau on the east, about six miles long; Küssnacht to the north, five miles long; Lucerne on the west, three miles long; and the Bay of Hergiswyl, with the almost separate Bay of Alpnach, about six miles. The central piece of water is not less than three miles square, and is called the "Kreuztrichter." The width of the lake is small in proportion to its length, nowhere exceeding three miles. If, however, the breadth be taken along the arms from Küssnacht to Alpnach it would exceed fifteen miles. The streams which flow into the lake are of small importance compared with the Reuss, but some of them have noticeable peculiarities. The Grunbach, which enters the lake near Flüelen, is periodic, flowing only in summer, and is supposed to receive its waters from a small lake on the north side of the Rophaien, the mountain which rises above Tell's Platte. On the opposite side the stream from the Isenthal (so named from the iron mines once worked there) has a plentiful supply of water, which does not fail even in the driest seasons. Near Brunnen is the mouth of the Muotta, which rises in the depths of the Bisithal. Down this stream formerly great quantities of wood were floated. The logs sometimes got jammed in the narrow gorges through which the stream passes, and a great accumulation of wood took place. To clear away the obstruction men were let down by ropes into the gulf, with hooks and axes, and in this dangerous occupation lives were not unfrequently lost. At this same point the army of Suwarow was driven back by the French when endeavouring to force their way into the plain of Schwyz, after the passage of the Kinzig Kulm. Shortly before entering the lake the Muotta receives the Seewern from the Lake of Lowerz. This stream delivers so much more water than it receives from

its affluents or from the Lake of Lowerz, that it must be supplied by subterranean springs.

The Engelberger Aa, which drains Engelberg and Nidwald, enters the lake near Buochs; and the Sarner Aa, which drains Obwald, and is the largest stream in Canton Unterwalden, flows into the Lake of Alpnach. The extent of the lake (44·3 square miles) is small in proportion to its length (23½ miles). Its waters abound in fish, there being no less than thirty-two different species, of which the most esteemed are the lake trout (*Salmo trutta*), which sometimes attain the weight of forty pounds. The navigation of the lake has from the earliest time been animated, being the principal means of communication of the Forest Cantons with each other, and after the St. Gotthard Pass was opened, the route through which passed all the traffic with Italy until the opening of the railway in 1882. The number of sailing and rowing boats (*nauen*) is very great, independently of pleasure boats, and at the present day more than twenty steamers, many of them of great size, beauty, and speed, convey the crowd of tourists to the various points of attraction on the Lake. It is often both a convenience and a delight to use a boat, but it should be done with caution, and the advice of the boatmen always respected. The Lake of Lucerne, from its many windings, is subject to various fluctuating and often violent winds. One of its bays may be comparatively smooth, whilst the next is seriously disturbed. When the strong south wind (*Föhn*) is blowing down the Bay of Uri, the same wind, diverted from its course by the mountain ridges, comes from the west and south-west along the Bay of Buochs. The two sets of waves, meeting opposite Brunnen, have then a frightful conflict. Sheets of spray are forced fifty feet and more into the air. At such a time may be seen, under the lee of the promontory at Treib, two or three of the lake steamers, and a perfect cloud of fishing and other boats, waiting for the storm to subside. Even on the larger steamers the motion is so violent that

cases of sea-sickness are not uncommon. The experiences gained in facing these and other dangers on the lake, made the boatmen of Lucerne famous in early days. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Doge of Venice, Marie Sanudo, was anxious to enlist boatmen of Lucerne to help in his expedition for the conquest of the Holy Land. They were also bold navigators of the Reuss, down which river and the Aar it was possible for boats to reach the Rhine.

In 1686 a company was formed for this navigation, for the concession of which 150 gulden was paid to the government. There were fixed charges; from Lucerne to Klingnau (on the Aar, close to its junction with the Rhine) each cwt. of goods* (centner) paid 33 schillings, and each person 21 schillings; to Bremgarten (on the Reuss, west of Zürich) 30 schillings and 15 schillings respectively. The undertaking failed for want of public patronage. In 1278 a boatman of Lucerne made a wager that he would go by water from Lucerne to Strasburg in a day. Whether he did so or not is uncertain; but this voyage was accomplished, in 1551, by Jost von Meggen, captain in the Papal guard, and his servant, Samuel Zehnder,† the time is not stated. The undertaking was not without its dangers, since in 1454 the market boat was upset, and thirty-four persons drowned. The landing-place for this voyage was at the Spreuer (Mühlen) Brücke. The right of fishing in the lake and the Reuss belonged to the various cantonal authorities. In Lucerne it belonged originally partly to the Convent in Hof and partly to private persons; *e.g.*, Hans von Mantzet had the Reuss fishing from the Wyghaus to the mouth of the Emme, and the Convent the fishing thence to the lake. In 1479 the Convent gave up its right to the town, and the latter purchased the lower fishing for 1,120 gulden. The Council let the fishing to individuals or families, who often held it for long periods; thus in the sixteenth century Ludwig Pfyffer and Leodegar Pfyffer held it in succession. The State valued the right highly,

* See money table. † Hirsbreifahrt.

and issued strict rules about the times and places of fishing, and also fixed the prices.

All fish caught were to be sold in the Lucerne market, and no one might buy more than a certain quantity (two *schneis*), each schneis consisting of thirty-two fish. The persons enjoying the fishing right were always members of the guild of fishers, which was one of the oldest in Lucerne, and consisted almost entirely of (so-called) noble families. The right of fishing was let out by them to tenants.

Though earthquakes have been by no means uncommon in the neighbourhood of Lucerne, the lake is only said to have been greatly affected on one occasion. This was in 1601, September 18, at 2 a.m. Many houses were shaken and cracked, especially in the Klein Stadt. The water of the lake fell so that the Reuss could be passed on foot. Boats were left stranded on the shore, and the fishing stakes are said to have been forced out of the ground. The water ebbed and flowed again several times until 8 a.m., when the manifestations ceased. The entire surface of the lake has never been frozen even in the coldest winters known, and only on very rare occasions any large portion of its surface. This is, no doubt, owing to its great depth.

In 1364 the waters between Küssnacht, Alpnach, Stansstad, Hergiswyl, and Lucerne were frozen so that cattle, horses, and sledges passed between these places on the ice. Similarly in the years 1573, 1608, 1681, and 1709.

In the winter of 1829–30 the post to Italy had for a time to take a circuitous course overland to reach Brunnen. The temperature of the water varies in the different bays. Whilst near the Axen, at the surface it was 16° (61° Fahr.), at the same time, in the Bay of Lucerne, it was 17° (63° F. nearly), and in each case at a depth of 580–600 feet 1° (1·8 F.) warmer.

There are numerous wild fowl on the shores of the lake, though not so many as in the marshy grounds which lie about

and to the north-west of the Lake of Sempach. Most of these take their departure on the approach of winter. Large game, chamois, deer, wild swine, which were found formerly, are no longer seen on the mountains near the lake, or indeed in any part of the canton. The shooting season lasts from September 15 to December 31. A shooting license costs four francs. If a dog is used, eight francs. Landowners were formerly allowed to shoot over their own ground without a game license; but this permission has been withdrawn since 1860.

The lake thus enclosed by the Forest Cantons has felt every throb of the national life. It has echoed the groaning under their oppression, their aspirations after liberty, their joys and sorrows, their victories and defeats.

The Bay of Uri is on every side replete with the associations which surround the enthralling, though legendary, history of Tell, and that of the almost legendary heroes of the Grütli, both immortalized by Schiller. Across its waters came the men of Uri and Unterwalden to help their brethren of Schwyz in the struggle of Morgarten. Unterwalden with more trepidation because they were threatened from the side both of Hasli and Lucerne, which was then an ally of the Habsburgs. Both attacks were made, and both repelled. Strassberg's forces were defeated and fled, partly over the Pass of Sorenberg into the Entlebuch, and partly over the Rengg Pass behind the Lopperberg. There was then no road round the promontory. From the old tower at Stansstad was dropped the millstone which sank the largest boat of the Lucerne fleet, called the *Goose;* and the market boat from Uri, curiously enough named the *Fox*, aided greatly in the repulse of the flotilla. When Lucerne in 1332 joined the Three Lands, there was not long harmony amongst themselves. Lucerne and Unterwalden had a quarrel about the pastures of Matt, on the northern face of the Burgenstock. These pastures, accessible only by water, or by a narrow and difficult path across the ridge, which no doubt

in fine weather from the side of Lucerne looked a pleasant and desirable spot, had been colonized and occupied by men of Lucerne. The men of Unterwalden, discovering the occupation of this hitherto neglected spot, complained of the violation of their territory. The question was still unsettled when the great fire at Lucerne broke out, on St. Peter and St. Paul's day (June 29th), 1340, which laid nearly all the "Gross Stadt" in ashes. The men of Nidwald, forgetting the dispute, hastened to the help of their neighbours. The men of Lucerne at first refused to open the gates. Then said the men of Nidwald, "Dear, good, brave Confederates, your suffering is ours, we are here to save and protect your lives, property, wives, and children, and all that is dear to you, as we would our own; and to help to put out the fire as zealously as if our own houses were burning." Hereupon they were admitted, and afterwards sent away with presents, and the dispute about the Burgenstock was soon afterwards settled. The procession over the Musegg is said by Melchior Russ to have been instituted in consequence of this fire; but it is proved to have existed in the middle of the thirteenth century, and the boundary dispute was not settled till nearly forty years after the fire (1378). In 1386, the men of the Three Lands came to help Lucerne to defend their liberties in the victory of Sempach. Again and again, when danger threatened the rising Confederation, in the French and Burgundian wars, in the struggle with Milan to maintain their conquests south of the St. Gotthard Pass, the men of the Forest Cantons traversed the Lake to march to the north or the south in the confidence of almost certain victory. Seldom was their confidence misplaced, except when they were encountered by overwhelming odds, as at the Birs (St. Jacob) in 1444, and at Arbedo in 1422. The latter battle was peculiarly disastrous to the men of Lucerne. They had started in a grand procession in seven great vessels. They returned in two. Their banner indeed was safe, though rent, which the standard-bearer had defended with conspicuous valour; they had even the enemy's

standard with them; but this failed to console the people for the heavy loss they had sustained—103 citizens, of whom ten belonged to the upper (lesser) council, and thirty to the lower (greater).

The government in Lucerne forbade anyone to go out on the lake, or even to appear in the streets to meet the remnant that returned. The displeasure of the people was visited on the commander, Schultheiss Ulrich Walker, who was accused of bad generalship and cowardice, and was condemned to pay a heavy fine.

There was great anger also felt against the men of Schwyz, which was in the rear of the other contingents, and though encamped in the neighbourhood of Bellinzona, did not come to their aid in the battle. It was long before the bitter feelings passed away.

Sometimes the troops returning from a victorious campaign were met by their fellow-townsmen with mingled feelings of sorrow and exultation. But there were sometimes also in times of peace occasions when the lake presented a scene of triumph unmixed with any tone of sadness. Such a scene was witnessed August, 1599, when the Cardinal Archduke Albert of Austria, with his bride, Isabella, the Infanta of Spain, came by invitation of the Catholic Cantons to Lucerne. He came attended by a suite of two thousand persons, and six hundred horses and mules. A special committee of the most eminent citizens, amongst them four of the Pfyffer family, went out to meet him in the Kreuztrichter, in a boat adorned with tapestry and foliage, and with Spanish, Austrian, and Lucerne flags. When the Archduke saw the Austrian flags, he asked, "Are these the flags my ancestors lost at the battle of Sempach?" Four other boats, carrying cannon, with their crews dressed in blue and white, the colours of Lucerne, fired a salvo in his honour. More than a hundred small guns fired from the bridges, and from different towers in the town, and twenty heavy guns were placed on the heights outside of the town. The whole male

population capable of bearing arms, in their best equipment, escorted them from the landing-place to their lodgings in the house of the Spanish ambassador.

The inns at Lucerne were able to provide accommodation for two hundred and sixty-five persons and four hundred and thirty-six horses. These were—Rossli 37, Schlussel 44, Adler 33, Mohre 18, Hirsch 25, Storch 26, Löwe 8, Wind 20, Kreuz 34, Wildermann 3, Engel 5, Linde 10. All except four of these are names of houses still familiar in the town, and some with not much more accommodation now than at that time.

The rest were accommodated in private houses, the members of the Pfyffer family supplying no less than fifty-eight beds. They were royally entertained, and presented with numerous gifts. The Infanta is said to have been most interested in the catching of fish at the Hofbrücke, the Archduke with the treasures in the churches, the arsenal, and the mint. This visit cost the government of Lucerne 698 gulden.*

When the disturbances of the French Revolution extended into Switzerland, from April 1798 until October 1799, bodies of troops were continually passing to and fro, and the shores of the lake beheld many violent scenes, the saddest being at Nidwald, where the inhabitants persisted in opposing the whole French army.

Since this century began, only once has the lake witnessed the passage of troops going to war, and that on a larger scale than ever before. In 1847, after the Federal Parliament had in vain repeatedly called on the seven cantons to dissolve the separate league (Sonderbund) which they had formed, war was declared. The forces raised were such as Switzerland, neither before nor since, has mustered under her banners. The Federal troops amounted to 98,800; the army of the Sonderbund to 79,000, of whom 29,000 were regular troops.

* The value of gold has diminished since that time in the proportion of 25 to 1, so that at present 698 gulden would represent a sum of 17,450 guld=£1,450 sterling.

When we consider that the population of the seven cantons at the present day amounts only to 475,000 (1888), it seems that every available man capable of bearing arms must have been sent to the front. Of these, Lucerne provided 8,800 regular troops, and 15,000 militia. In 1834 the population of Uri was 12,500, in 1835 that of Unterwalden 23,600, that of Schwyz, in 1833, 38,351, giving a total of 74,451. In 1847 it was no doubt greater, but taking the lower figure, and estimating one man in five, we have a contingent of nearly 15,000 men from the Three Lands, which certainly never before made such a display of force. After the defeats at Gislikon and Honau, Lucerne capitulated, and in the evening of November 23, 1847, the Sonderbund government, with Siegwart Muller at their head, fled in a steamer (one of the first placed on the lake), to take refuge in Uri. Since 1847 no body of troops with warlike intentions has traversed the lake. This was the last great struggle between the two parties embittered by political and religious animosity. These feelings are indeed not entirely quenched, as is shown by the events in Tessin in 1891, but they are, it is hoped, diminished. The successful pursuit of material prosperity in the Forest Cantons has conduced greatly to this. Instead of bearing on its surface soldiers armed to the teeth, going to join battle with foreign enemies or in civil strife, every day in the season sees upon the waters of the lake a number of tourists, pleasure and holiday seekers, far exceeding in number the largest army that ever crossed them. On great occasions, such as the fifth centenary of Sempach, in 1886, the fourth centenary of the death of Bruder Klaus, in 1887, and the sixth anniversary of the Eternal League, in 1891, the many steamers that traverse the lake are totally insufficient to convey the multitudes that throng to witness the spectacle. For the accommodation of the vast crowd, there has sprung up in the last thirty years a large number of hotels at Lucerne, on the shores of the lake, on the Rigi, the Pilatus, &c., with not less than 20,000 beds, the Rigi alone having about 3,000.

CHAPTER XIV.

RIGI AND PILATUS.

THE first objects which attract the attention of the visitor to Lucerne, next to the lake itself, are the two mountains which rise, the Rigi to the east and the Pilatus to the south of the town. These are the mountain shrines, at one or both of which the tourist must offer up his devotions. Their names have been the subject of philological enquiry, without much result. Some have supposed "Rigi" from "*Rigidus*," a term hardly applicable to one of the meekest of mountains. Others, "Rigi" from "*Regina montium*," a derivation equally improbable, since it had the name long before it became known to fame. The name Pilatus is derived by some from the legend which connects the mountain with the ancient governor of Judaea; by others from the word *pileatus* (capped), from the way in which the clouds often gather round its summit. The former mountain—the most frequented summit in the world—to which, in the season, thousands of pilgrims daily travel; the latter, long less frequently visited, though now—with its new railway and improved hotels—bidding for custom against its rival. The fame of the Pilatus is of much older date than that of the Rigi. In the early times it was rather an object of fear to the inhabitants of Lucerne, who deemed the spirits on it were the cause of disastrous inundations. Decrees were issued as early as 1300, forbidding all approach to the mountain, and the peasants on the alps were charged to hinder the visits of any strangers who came without special permis-

sion. Both mountains were occupied equally early—at least, the lower portions of them—by the peasants with their cattle. The Rigi, whose slopes are more gentle, much more extensively. In the height of summer cattle were pastured on its very top, whereas the rugged summits of the Pilatus were not adapted for such a use. The spiritual needs of the shepherds on the Rigi induced a benevolent individual, Sebastian Zay by name, churchwarden and common councilman of Arth, in 1688 to build a chapel on the north slope of the Rigi, at a spot about an hour below the summit of the mountain, then called "im Sand," but now known as "Klosterli." At his request two Capuchin brothers came to minister here, for whose accommodation he built a small house. An image of the Virgin "Mary of the Snow" was placed in the chapel in 1690. Masses were held here every Sunday, and the spiritual needs of the peasants on the alps were thus provided for, but when these were supplied other wants of a physical kind made themselves felt. An inn was built—as is so often the case—near the church to provide refreshment for the worshippers. This supplied good wine and beer, and on important days, such as September 6th (birthday of Mary of the Snow), there was a great crowd, and in fine weather the concourse of pilgrims continued until All Saints' day, November 1st. The bulls of several Popes—Clement XII. in 1734, and Pius VI. in 1779—gave full absolution to all who made the pilgrimage and received the sacrament at the chapel on the Rigi. Early in the 18th century a larger chapel was built, chiefly at the expense of the Schorno family, belonging to Arth. In some years the number of pilgrims is said to have amounted to 14,000. In the latter half of the 18th century a rival inn was established, and in 1781 Leonhard Meister, of Zürich, making the ascent from Arth, found a third inn. One of these probably failed, for accounts of visits between 1790 and 1800 speak only of two inns. One, the White Horse, kept by Anton Schreiber, was much frequented by tourists,

who used to start at midnight to make the ascent of the mountain and to see the sun rise. The other was called the Ox. The White Horse still remains. In 1795 a Danish lady, Frederica Brun, with her children, made here a stay of unusual length—no less than nine days. In her diary (Copenhagen, 1800) she records her approval of the host and his doings, and contrasts his charges favourably with those of a house lower down, "zur Mutter Gottes," near the Obesen Dächli, at which, for a breakfast of bread and cheese, goat's milk, and sour wine of Zug, she paid no less than five thalers (15s.). In 1822 in place of the Ox the Sword was built.

At the beginning of this century two other inns were built, the Crown and the Sun, both of which now exist, the former being a "dependance" of the latter. The state of things in 1835 is thus described: On the chapel square is the Sun, with twenty-eight rooms and 60 beds. It is frequented chiefly by tourists. The larger bedrooms cost four francs a week, the lesser two francs. Board per day (without wine) twenty batzen (two francs). For this they receive, at 6 a.m., molken, or goat's milk; at 8 a.m., coffee, &c.; at 12 the principal mid-day meal; at 4 p.m., coffee or tea, &c.; at 5.30, goat's milk; and at 8 p.m., supper.

On a terrace above is the White Horse, an older house, containing eleven rooms and twenty-nine beds, mostly frequented by pilgrims.

Higher up again is the Sword, built 1822. This house enjoys the special advantage that its landlord owns also the inn on the Stäffel, and the guests at one inn can stay in the other at pleasure, interchanging (as they do at present between Seiler's Hotel at Zermatt and the Riffel). The usual charges are from seventeen to forty batzen ($1\frac{3}{4}$–4 francs), presupposing the stay is for eight to ten days. Those, however, who stay exclusively at the Stäffel, have to pay from twenty to fifty batzen daily (two to five francs). The Sword and the Stäffel together muster ninety-seven beds.

The Crown below the chapel is used exclusively by pilgrims. Ebel was one of the first visitors, and the names of these hotels are found in all his guide books.

The first person who entertained the idea of building an inn on the top of the mountain was Martin Bürgi, the landlord of the Crown. This was the smallest inn of the four, but it was highly esteemed for two good reasons—the landlord gave good wine, and he was always to be found at home ready to welcome visitors, going to meet them when they came, and attending them when they left. Simple and honest, he won the love of all who knew him. He had formerly been a tailor, then a guide, and finally an innkeeper. Before 1814 he began to carry out his project, and accumulated a large quantity of materials at the top. But his means were soon exhausted, and he had to look round for help elsewhere. This was soon found. Heinrich Keller, the painter of Zürich, who drew the panorama from the Rigi, had made Bürgi's acquaintance during his visits to the mountain in the previous ten years, and now offered his assistance. In conjunction with Conrad Escher (von der Linth), his brother Caspar Escher, and Hofrath Horner, he issued an appeal to the lovers of Nature throughout Switzerland. The response to this exceeded their expectations. In a short time the sum of 971 francs was collected, chiefly from Zürich, and Burgi was thus enabled to go on with his work. The workmen employed were sheltered in a wooden hut, which also offered a refuge to tourists.

The new building was finished in the spring of 1816. Its dimensions were forty feet by thirty-six feet; it had on the basement three windows and a door, and on the upper floor four windows. It was first occupied on August 6th, 1816, but of this there is no record in the Fremdenbuch, which probably was not then provided.

The first entry in the first visitors' book is that of three Englishmen, Sir H. Lambert, Colonel Lambert, and W. Haggit, of Herr and Frau Stocker of Zürich, and of Madame

Rahn. But now, though the house was completed, more money was wanted to furnish it properly, and a fresh appeal was made to the public, which produced a sum of 1,400 francs, by means of which the house was furnished in a moderate way. There were eight bedrooms on the upper floor, which could accommodate sixteen persons. The summit was seventy paces from the house.

The whole sum of 2,371 francs (= 3,500 francs of present day = £140) was expended, but various articles were thought necessary to complete and secure the building, such as a lightning conductor, telescope, barometer, thermometer, &c. For these an appeal was made in the Fremdenbuch to visitors, on August 1st, 1818.

In the course of the next ten years these contributions amounted to 845 fcs. (= 1270 fcs. = £50), amongst them being some handsome sums from the Grand Duchess of Wurtemburg, the Grand Duke of Cobourg, and the Crown Prince of Prussia; and all the requisite instruments were provided except the telescope, which was too costly. So the house was complete, and Bürgi, who had to pay (for the first ten years) interest on the advances at three per cent., might well be satisfied. However, he was not long left in peace. In 1822 another innkeeper of Arth proposed to build an inn on the top, and it cost Bürgi much time and money to avert the danger; but he at last obtained a promise from the Gemeinde of Arth to entertain no similar proposition from anyone. But Bürgi had to promise on his part, to make over all the wood he had on the alp (? standing) to the Schindlers of Arth, within three years to pay them 250 gulden, and to give up his inn, the Krone, at Klosterli, and to occupy only the house on the Kulm.

Here he had plenty of custom, the flow of visitors increased. In the four years, 1816–1819 inclusive, the number of visitors of all nationalities were 294, 664, 835, and 1,036, in all 2,829; of whom 1,241 were Swiss, 776 German, 536 English, and 76 French. Every year showed an increase. In 1820 the house

was lengthened twenty-four feet, but was still quite insufficient. In 1830 a further enlargement was effected, and the house could now accommodate twenty-five persons, besides stabling for horses, and accommodation for guides and servants. The windows were enlarged, and two lightning conductors were put up.

In 1833 the brave old Burgi died, and was succeeded by his son, Caspar Bürgi Ritschard. Most of the sums lent were given to Bürgi's heirs; they had, however, to replace a sum of 842 fcs. contributed between 1818 and 1827. This was the basis of a fund administered at first by Heinrich Keller until 1862, and then taken over by the Zürich Natural History Society.

In 1847–1848 the old house was taken down, and Caspar Bürgi built the inn which serves as the present dependance (1883). This new building, which is now the oldest on the Kulm, could accommodate 100 to 130 persons.

In 1856 a larger house was built to accommodate 150 to 200 persons. The value of the land had so increased, that 57,000 fcs. was paid for the ground, and 3,000 fcs. rent for the house; but Bürgi was guaranteed against competition for ten years. In the years 1871–73 the Rigi Railway from Vitznau, and in 1875 that from Arth, were constructed, and the concourse of tourists enormously increased. The profits were such that in 1873 Bürgi withdrew from the business with a considerable fortune. A company, the Regina Montium, took over the business, but failed in 1875. In the same year the New Hotel was built by the brothers Schreiber, accommodating 300 persons. The creditors of the Regina Montium carried on the business until 1879, when the whole were purchased by the Schreibers. The New Hotel Rigi First (on the line of the Rigi Scheideck Railway) was built in 1873, Rigi Kaltbad in 1864, and Rigi Scheideck in 1837.

Mr. W. H. Vormann has collected in a small pamphlet a number of interesting extracts from the visitors' books of the

Rigi hotels between 1816 and 1864. Besides the usual mixture of poetry and prose, of remarks practical or sentimental, laudatory or abusive, there is much that is interesting. We find in these a picture of the political condition of Switzerland, and, indeed, of other states—the Italian patriot rejoicing over the fall of Napoleon, but lamenting the division of his country into separate states by the congress of Vienna, and the loss of its constitution by Naples (1820–21). The frequent visits of the officers and soldiers of the Swiss Federal Army from Arth, Vitznau, Greppen, and other places, tell us of the disorders in Canton Schwyz in 1833, and of the Sonderbund war in 1847.

There were eight ways up the Rigi: three on the east from Aarth, Goldau, and Lowerz, two on the north from Immensee and Küssnacht, two on the south-west from Weggis and Vitznau, and one on the south from Gersau. Of these all were horse-tracks, except the last two. That from Vitznau is the shortest and steepest, that from Gersau the longest. The Weggis road, from its proximity to Lucerne, was for many years the most popular. Vitznau was beginning to envy Weggis, and to form plans for improving its path and securing a share of the golden harvest. Then came the project of the cogwheel railway, and Vitznau became far more crowded as the starting-point for the Rigi than Weggis had ever been. The idea of a cogwheel railway, which in the old days was supposed by Stephenson to be necessary even on level ground, was now to be carried out in practice, where no other system would do.

The railway from Vitznau to the Kulm was constructed by three Swiss engineers: N. Riggenbach, Oliver Zschokke, and A. Naf, who obtained the concession for it on April 18, 1869. The capital was 1,250,000 francs (£50,000), of which half was raised privately, and half offered for public subscription. The line was opened in May, 1871; the average gradient is 20 per cent. The two former of the three engineers mentioned constructed in 1875 the line from Arth to the Kulm, whose average

gradient seldom exceeds 15 per cent. The opening of these lines greatly increased the concourse of visitors to the mountain. The number rose from 40,000 in 1870 to 130,000 in 1882, in which year the gross receipts of both railways for the season were 625,000 frs. (£25,000). The old hotels have been enlarged, and new ones built, so that the accommodation on the Rigi now exceeds 3,000 beds.

References to the Pilatus occur at a much earlier date than to the Rigi. The peculiar appearances on the mountain which preceded and accompanied atmospheric changes drew attention to it at a very early period. This, and the traditions about spirits which haunted it, gave the mountain unusual importance. It was believed that the storms and destructive inundations which proceeded from it were caused by the spirits, indignant at being disturbed by the approach of mortals. Decrees forbidding approach to the mountain were issued several times in the fourteenth century, and special permission from the authorities of Lucerne was required by persons wishing to make the ascent. Tradition tells us that after the execution of Pontius Pilate, by order of Tiberius, his body was first thrown into the Tiber; but, on account of the remarkable storm which ensued, that it was fished out and transferred to Vienne, in Gaul (Provence), and thrown into the Rhone. The same consequences, however, resulting here, it was transferred to Lausanne; but only to occasion the same disturbances. A solitary spot was now sought for where the body might be deposited far from human habitations. The spot fixed upon was a small lake on the Bründlen alp.* This alp is on the western slopes of the mountain, at the head of the Eigenthal. Here the uneasy spirit wandered round, sometimes appearing on the shore, sometimes on the rocks above the lake, producing terrible storms, terrifying the herdsmen, scattering the cattle, and driving the finest animals to destruction by falling over the cliffs. Then appeared in Lucerne a student of Salamanca,

* Some say it is a small lake (Tomli See) on the other side.

who was a powerful magician. He undertook, for a large sum of money, to exorcise the evil spirit. The magician found the spirit seated on a high rock. His first exorcisms had no effect. He then gained the top of a hill opposite the spot where the spirit was, and began to use a stronger formula. The struggle was so violent, and the magician stamped so violently with his feet, that that part of the hill has since remained bare of grass. The spirit was at last compelled to give way, and consented henceforward to remain quiet in the lake. He stipulated only for two conditions: that a spirit in the form of a black mare should be given to him, on which he, as a Roman knight, might return in a worthy manner to his dwelling-place; and, secondly, that once in the year he might be allowed to return to the upper world. The conditions were granted. He rode with such fury down into the lake that the marks of the horse's heels are still to be seen. On the appointed day, Good Friday, the form of the governor of Judea, in his robes of office, is still to be seen on the shore. But whoever sees it is sure to die before the year is out. Should any one insult the spirit, or throw stones into the lake, his anger is shown by the outburst of a violent storm.

This legend of the Pilatus is first related by a minor canon of Zürich, Conrad de Mur, who lived in the middle of the thirteenth century. He, however, fixes a burial-place on the Septimer instead of Lausanne. The strength of the belief that storms were caused by throwing stones into the lake, is shown by a decree of the Council of Lucerne in 1387, by which all were forbidden without special permission to approach the lake.

In an old deed of grant of an alp on the mountain, the lessee was charged to guard the mountain and the approach to the lake, for fear of damage ensuing. The first person to throw doubt on the truth of this legend was Master John Müller, the Curé of Lucerne. Along with a numerous company, he visited the lake in the year 1585. They invoked the

spirit loudly, threw stones into the water, and no storm ensued. Finally, some of the party waded through the lake, thus dispersing the assertion that it was unfathomable.

A modern writer, Heinrich Rungge, thinks that the Pilatus was an old place of Celtic worship before the Alamannian colonization, and that the invaders followed their example and worshipped their divinities on the summit of the peaks of Pilatus. When the teachers of Christianity came, they sought long in vain to wean the people from these superstitions, and at last invented the legend of the connection of Pontius Pilate with the lake to deter them from approaching the spot. This theory seems in the highest degree improbable. At the time of the Alamannian colonization, it is unlikely there were inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the mountain, whose sides were then covered with all but impenetrable forest. The legends and theories about the Pilatus, printed or written, have been collected by Herr J. Schurmann, town clerk of Lucerne. The numerous plans, maps, and drawings attached to this work, as well as a collection of most of the objects in natural history to be found on the Pilatus, make this most interesting. Rennward Cysat (born 1545, died 1614), who was town clerk of Lucerne for forty-eight years, wrote an account of the Rigi and the Pilatus. From the latter he had a collection of 800 plants, a remarkable number for that period. The Pilatus was a famous mountain in early times, and was perhaps ascended before any other mountain, at least in Europe. It was ascended by Duke Ulrich of Wurtemburg, in 1518, by the learned Burgomaster of St. Gall, Joachim Vadian, by the natural historian Conrad Gessner, of Zürich, and others. We do not know whether these ascents imply that any of the summits were climbed, or only that the more accessible parts were visited. If the former, it was certainly a much more serious undertaking than now, when not only good bridle-paths lead from several points to the summit, but a railway has been made up it in a most adventurous manner. Up to about 1850

the Pilatus could not be called a very accessible mountain. The earliest route ascended by Kriens to Herrgottswald, thence to the Brundlen alp, and by some of the ravines which furrow the face of the mountain, one or other of its five summits could be gained. As far as the alps reached up the mountain there were paths used by the peasants for their cattle, beyond these the traveller went as best he could. The next route which came into fashion was that from Alpnach, which approaches the mountain by the hollow between the Tomlishorn on one side, and the Matthorn and Esel on the other. The last part of this was over slopes of shale up to the Col, between the Esel and Oberhaupt, and the former could then be reached by a rough scramble. About 1850, Herr Blättler, the proprietor of an inn at Hergiswyl, and also of one at Rotzloch, near Stanstad, constructed a path at considerable expense (25,000 francs = £1,000) up the shaly ravine to the Col, between the Oberhaupt and Klimsenhorn. Here he built a small inn (which is the present stable) and a chapel. He made a path also up the slopes of the Oberhaupt to the Kriesiloch, in which a ladder was placed, and the Esel was so made easily accessible from that side. In the years 1860–1864 a larger hotel was built under the Klimsenhorn, and another called the Bellevue between the Esel and Oberhaupt. A path was made to enable visitors to ascend the Tomlishorn, the highest summit of the Pilatus, from the Klimsenhorn. Before that this peak was only accessible easily from the side of Alpnach. The construction of this new path involved a good deal of rock cutting and blasting, and a staircase of considerable length was made up the steep gully immediately under the peak. These various attempts, made at great expense to provide accommodation for visitors, and to make the mountain more accessible, did not meet with their reward, at least none proportional to the outlay. Some years after (? 1869) the hotels were acquired by Col. Britschki of Alpnach.

The hotels were carried on in a somewhat slipshod fashion for a number of years. The receipts probably did not cover expenses. No improvements could be made, and paths fell out of repair, the staircase on the Tomlishorn route especially, making the ascent more difficult than when there was no staircase at all.

In 1885 two enterprising inhabitants of Zürich, Colonel Ed. Locher and Herr Ed. Guyer Freuler, formed a company for the construction of a railway from Alpnach Gestad to the summit. The work was commenced in 1886, and was completed in less than two years, the actual number of working days being only four hundred. It was opened on August 17th, 1888.

This railway must be regarded as the most adventurous construction hitherto effected. The whole length of the line is 4,618 metres (2¾ miles nearly), whilst the difference of level is 1,629 metres (5,300 feet). The average gradient is 42 per cent.; the maximum gradient is 48 per cent., very nearly one foot in two. The line is constructed throughout of granite blocks, brought from the quarries of Osogna, on the south side of the St. Gotthard. The bridges are entirely of masonry, no iron girders being used anywhere. The line follows very nearly the course of the horse-track from Alpnach Gestad, as far as the Aemsigen alp, at which point the ascending and descending trains cross. Here the line crosses to the left bank and the ravine, and climbs along the base of the Steigli Egg. Rounding the hollow between that peak and the Esel, it then boldly attacks the precipitous face of the latter, across which it is carried in a way that excites astonishment, if not awe, and which a few years ago would have been deemed impossible.

The line here had to be blasted out of the face of the mountain, the workmen being often suspended by ropes. Simultaneously with the construction of the line the hotels Klimsenhorn and Bellevue were improved, and a large new hotel (Pilatus Kulm) was built near the latter, immediately under the Oberhaupt.

Paths have been (or are being) constructed to make the other summits, Tomlishorn, Widderfeld, Gnepfstein, &c., accessible, with ease, from the two upper hotels. The passage from the Oberhaupt to the Tomlishorn was formerly a feat for a bold alpine cragsman. The mountain is now sufficiently vulgarised, and means to make an effort to compete with the Rigi.

It may be worth while here to compare the lengths, gradients, and cost of the two Rigi railways, and that of the Pilatus. The Arth-Rigi railway has a length of 11,477 metres (seven miles 1 furlong), of which the portion from Arth to Goldau (2818 metres = $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles) is level. It rises 1330 metres (4364 feet) in a length of 8,659 metres (five miles three furlongs), giving an average gradient of nearly 16 per cent.

The Vitznau Rigi Railway rises 1369 metres (4490 feet) in 7058 metres (four miles three furlongs) with an average gradient of nearly 20 per cent.

The Pilatus Railway rises 1629 metres (5242 feet) in a length of 4618 metres (two miles seven furlongs) giving an average gradient of nearly 36 per cent. Thus it is more than twice as steep as the Arth Rigi, and nearly twice as steep as the Vitznau Rigi Railway. The capitals raised for the construction of the three lines were, for the Arth Rigi, 6,500,000 francs (£260,000) for the Vitznau Rigi, 1,250,000 francs (£50,000), and for the Pilatus Railway, 1,900,000 francs (£76,000), giving a cost per mile of £36,500, £11,500, and £26,500 respectively. The capital raised in the case of the Pilatus Railway included neither the repairs of the old hotels nor the building of the new.

There are still various routes by which the traveller who loves to enjoy mountain scenery, and at the same time to avoid the tourist throng, may cross the mountains in comparative solitude. Thus from Kriens, about three miles to the west of Lucerne, a delightful walk through woods and meadows leads up to the huts of the Boner alp, on the north-west face of the Klimsenhorn. A little to the west of these huts a path, at first indistinctly marked, leads up a grassy ridge to the face of

the mountain. Here it turns to the right, along a grassy shelf between two lines of cliff, and then zigzags up the upper slopes, and emerges near the little chapel at the Klimsenhorn Hotel. The time from Lucerne to this point, including the level walk to Kriens, may be from four to five hours.

The traveller may now follow the somewhat neglected path to the Tomlishorn, which is reached in a short hour. From this peak it is easy to descend by the slopes on the east side to the old path from Alpnach, and thus the traveller will have crossed the mountain almost without being aware of the existence of the railway, except from seeing or hearing the train in the distance, on the opposite cliffs of the Esel. Again, the pedestrian wishing to ascend the mountain from Stansstad, need not go either to Alpnach Gestad, or Hergiswyl. About half-way between Stansstad and the former of these places (about twenty-five minutes from Stansstad), near the first group of houses called Niederegg, a track turns to the right, and works up to and through the wood on the left bank of the stream, descending from the Matthorn. On emerging in about one and a half hours from the wood, the stream may either be crossed to the Aemsigen alp, and the route from Alpnach Gestad followed, or the ascent may be continued on the left bank, by the slopes of the Matt alp, until the col is reached between the Matthorn and the Esel, where the path from Alpnach is joined for the last half hour.

The ridge descending from the Steigli Egg towards Stanzstad is the Lopperberg. In the depression between this and the body of the mountain is the Rengg Pass, which afforded the only means of approaching Unterwalden by land from Lucerne, before the construction of the road round the base of the Lopperberg.

CHAPTER XV.

SCHWYZ: THE FORTRESS OF THE LANDS.

HISTORIC COMBATS.

WHILST the Three Lands were in the east and south almost unapproachable by an invading army, on the north and north-west they were exposed to attack by a number of easy passes. The Canton of Unterwalden was accessible by only one low pass on the west, the Brünig. Uri, when in early times extending only to the Devil's Bridge, might be considered impregnable, but the old Land Schwyz, which then was bounded on the north by the watershed of the Sihl, was accessible along this line, and indeed on all sides, except on the east, by many easy routes. From the Lake of Lucerne at Brunnen, from the Lake of Zug by Arth, or by the Egerisee and the Pass of Sattel, from the direction of Einsiedeln by the route of Rothenthurm to Sattel, by Alpthal and the Hacken Pass, and, lastly, by the head of the Sihlthal and Iberg. The old Land Schwyz was thus the most exposed to an invading force; whilst, at the same time, the men of Schwyz, from their native courage, and the high value they set upon their liberty, were the best fitted to defend what has been truly called their "fortress." If in 1314 they lowered their character by an attack upon the defenceless monks of Einsiedeln, less than two years after they showed that their courage was in no way dependent on the weakness of their adversaries, when at Morgarten they met and defeated the pride of the Austrian chivalry. This great success is only briefly referred to in

chapter ii. It may here be interesting to describe it at somewhat greater length. The Three Lands, after the death of Henry VII. in 1313, had espoused the cause of Louis of Bavaria, in opposition to the House of Habsburg. The enmity of that house, long irritated by the pretensions and attempts of the Lands to assert their independence, was still further embittered, and in the end of the year 1315, Frederick of Habsburg commissioned his brother Leopold to punish the Waldstätten, and reduce them by force under the dominion of his house. The Three Lands were at this moment surrounded by enemies. They sought in some degree to conjure the storm which was about to break upon them. Lucerne and the governor of the Oberland, Count Strassberg, they could not hope to detach from the Austrian cause; but the men of Uri refused to admit Werner of Homberg to the imperial fief of Flüelen, and made an alliance with the Austrian bailiwicks of Urseren and Glaris; the men of Schwyz endeavoured to detach Arth on the west from the Austrian side, and Unterwalden made a temporary truce with Interlaken. Duke Leopold arrived at Baden in Aargau, in October, 1315, and summoned all the towns around to send their military contingents, and all the nobles allied to the House of Austria to join his standard. The declared object was to attack the Waldstätte, and Schwyz in particular. The rendezvous was fixed for the 14th of November at Zug. Here the chief attack was to be delivered, while on the side of the Brünig Strassberg was to threaten Obwald, and Lucerne was to hold Nidwald in check. Uri was for the moment neglected, as the defeat of the men of Schwyz must ensure its submission. The Swiss on their part erected fortifications on the routes by which the enemy was most likely to advance; on the south between Arth and Steinen, at Schorno on the Sattel Pass, and at Altmatt on the route of Rothenthurn. Either in the exercise of a wise judgment, or, as some say, from information conveyed from a friend in the ranks of the enemy, the bulk of the Confederates, some 1,300 in number, was

stationed at Schorno. Smaller detachments were posted at Arth and at Altmatt, and the intervals between these posts, which extended about twelve miles, was covered with a line of scouts ready to convey information from any threatened point. Various points on the lake which might be threatened from Lucerne, such as Brunnen, Flüelen, Buochs, had also to be watched, and there is little doubt that, on this momentous occasion, all the able-bodied men of the Three Lands were under arms.

The army which assembled under Leopold's orders at Zug on November 14th, 1315, is said by some to have amounted to 14,000, but it probably did not exceed 9,000, of whom 4,000 were cavalry. Early on the morning of the 15th, when there was a hard frost, they advanced over the low heights which separate the Lakes of Zug and Aegeri, and began to advance along its eastern bank towards Sattel. The cavalry were in front; the infantry either were far in the rear, or more probably had been diverted by the parallel route of St. Jost, in order to take the defeated Confederates in flank. In the narrow road along the lake the horsemen could only advance two or three abreast, and the line must have exceeded a mile in length. They advanced without thought or care. It was like a hunting party or a cavalcade, rather than a serious warlike expedition. The slopes on their left were gentle, but after passing the scattered houses of Haselmatt, they became more abrupt. The advanced guard were already in sight of the fortified post of Schorno and the Confederate troops, when suddenly, from the heights of Morgarten on their left, came a confused mass of logs and rocks, springing and bounding down the hill, wounding, overthrowing, and crushing horses and riders, blocking the road, and spreading confusion and dismay along the whole line.

The preparation of this battery is attributed by some to a body of exiles, who hoped by this signal service to obtain a reversion of their sentence; but it is hardly probable that the

Confederate leaders could have overlooked so obvious a means of confounding and destroying the enemy. Before they could recover from their surprise, the main body of the Swiss charged down upon them, cleaving and striking down, with their long swords and clubs, knights, squires, and horses alike. Provided with crampons they kept their footing with ease on the frozen ground, whilst the horses slipped and stumbled. The infantry were too far in the rear to give any assistance, or had been diverted by a parallel route. The confusion was increased by a flank attack. The enemy were forced backwards, and it became more a massacre than a battle. They were slaughtered like fishes taken in a net. Many were drowned in the lake. Duke Leopold, after vainly endeavouring to turn the combat, was obliged to take safety in flight. The disaster of that day was never effaced from his heart. John of Winterthur, the earliest historian, when a boy, saw Leopold returning despondent from the battle in which his father had been engaged. Fourteen hundred of the Austrians are said to have fallen, and only fourteen of the Confederates. The pursuit was not continued far; the Confederates were too anxious about events in their rear. The men of Unterwalden hastened to defend their homes, threatened by Strassberg, or from attacks on the side of the lake. But the news of the victory of Morgarten soon spread. The flotilla from Lucerne retreated, and Strassberg recrossed the Brünig, pursued and harassed by the men of Unterwalden far into Hasli.

The spot from which the fire of rocks and log descended has been a matter of doubt; but the popular tradition has been confirmed by the discovery of various arms at the foot of the hill of Morgarten, close to the spot where now stands the chapel of St. Vitus.

Let us turn now to another scene.

Almost five centuries have passed away since Morgarten, and again we find the men of the Three Lands on the selfsame ground, prepared to meet another foe.

The Three Lands have grown into thirteen cantons, with allied and subject lands, and have long been a name and a power among the states of Europe; but with interests no longer common, divided in religion as well as political feeling. It is 1798. The French armies have entered Switzerland, and have proclaimed liberty, welcomed by the democratic states, and by the subject lands regarded as deliverers, and some of the aristocratic cantons—Bern, Soleure, Lucerne, &c., have yielded. But the Three Lands, seeing their own importance about to vanish with the loss of their subject lands and the new change in their constitution, and remembering their ancient triumphs, refused to accept the Helvetic constitution promulgated by the invaders, and resolved to make a bold effort to recover Switzerland, and maintain the old order of things. They were the attacking party, and, like Leopold in 1315, they resolved to make a combined movement from different points. The left wing was to cross the Brünig, advance through Hasli, and reconquer Bern; the centre, under Aloys Reding, was to attack Lucerne; the right wing, in two parts, was to advance from Zug into Upper Aargau, and from Einsiedeln, upon Rapperswyl and the Lake of Zürich. They numbered altogether not more than 10,000 men, and they expected to drive before them Schauenburg's army of 30,000 men, which, though scattered, was now wholly at his disposal after the submission of the other cantons.

They expected that the country would rise and join them as they advanced, and that with greatly increased numbers they would meet before Aarau, where the Helvetic Directory were sitting. They were not deterred by their numerical inferiority. Was not the disparity at Morgarten far greater? The Lands had now the support of the Abbey of Einsiedeln, which sent them 1,000 louis d'or, offered its plate, and authorised the leaders to pledge its credit for a loan. But they were not united now as they had been then. Obwald had already given in its adhesion to the new constitution, and Uri was

only half-hearted in the matter. The men of Nidwald, advancing to the Brünig, came into collision with Obwald. The fratricidal contest was just about to commence, when Obwald gave way, revoked its decision in a new Landsgemeinde, and sent 600 men to join the expedition. So uncertain, however, were the leaders of Unterwalden that almost as soon as the troops had started they were ordered not to cross the Brünig. Meanwhile, on April 29, General Aloys Reding appeared before Lucerne, which capitulated. The men of Schwyz stacked their arms in the market-place, and went to St. Peter's Church to return thanks for their success. The men of Lucerne did not venture to seize the arms and capture the whole body in the chapel, as they might easily have done, but waited patiently until the army came out. After refreshing themselves the invaders pulled down the tree of liberty, insulted the adherents of the Helvetic Republic, took the arms from the Arsenal, and then began to plunder the town. This the leaders in vain endeavoured to check; but it soon came to an end when the messengers sent to carry the news of their success to the right wing at Zug returned with the startling intelligence that the French army had concentrated and advanced upon Zug, which had surrendered on the same day as Lucerne, and that other divisions were advancing on Lucerne and Rapperswyl. The plan of the Confederates was thus rendered impracticable by the defeat of one of its parts. The centre was separated from the right wing, and Reding had no choice except to evacuate Lucerne, and fall back on Schwyz, if his communications were not to be cut off.

By the evening of April 30th, only thirty-six hours after the capitulation of Lucerne, the territory of Schwyz was entirely encompassed by the French on the north and west, Andermatt and Paravicini had been defeated, and Reding with about 4,000 men had to face the whole French army. This small force had to cover all the approaches on the north and north-west. These were substantially the same as in the time

of Morgarten, with this exception, that as the territory of Schwyz now extended to the shores of the Zürich See, two defensive points in advance of the first line had to be occupied, namely, the gorge of Schindellegi in front of Rothenthurm, and the Pass of Etzel leading to Einsiedeln. At the former of these, as the most important, Reding placed himself; the latter was occupied by the Curé Marianus Herzog, with the men of Einsiedeln. One battalion occupied the defile of St. Jost, another that of Schorno, and a body of sharpshooters at Arth watched both sides of the Lake of Zug. Whilst Reding took all precautions, he was well aware of the hopelessness of ultimate success. Addressing his troops, he pointed out to them that certain death awaited them if they persevered in their resistance; that all who were not prepared to face this issue had better retire; that he himself was prepared to stand by them through all to the last. A thousand voices declared that, like their fathers of old, they would do or die. The first disaster which befell Reding was the treachery of Marianus Herzog. At a council of war, held on the night of May 1–2, this leader declared that success was certain if all the posts were defended, as he and his men would defend the Etzel. At 8 a.m., on May 2nd, he rejoined his men, and told them that the other divisions had given up all idea of resisting, and that it was vain for them to think of doing so. He then rode off and his men dispersed. A few hours later the French, to their great satisfaction, found the strong post of the Etzel undefended. About 10 a.m. on the same day the French appeared on the Schindellegi, where the high road from Zürich to Rothenthurm and Schwyz enters the defile of the Sihl. Here they met a well-sustained fire from a body of riflemen, which held them in check for two hours. The Swiss then received reinforcements with two guns, which compelled the enemy to draw back, and Reding was preparing to attack in his turn when he received the news of the evacuation of the Etzel. This compelled him at once to fall back on

Rothenthurm to avoid being outflanked. The French column advanced after him, and was joined by that from the Etzel, which had delayed to plunder the Convent of Einsiedeln. The heights on Reding's left from St. Jost to the defile of Schorno were crowned by the continually increasing masses of the enemy; whilst on the right, he was liable at any moment to be surprised by a body advancing over the Hacken Pass. A detachment from the Brünig division now fortunately arrived, which had made an extraordinary march to join him. This was immediately despatched to guard the Hacken Pass. Reding had now his whole force disposable, except the sharp-shooters at Arth, and he boldly determined to assume the offensive. After some artillery fire he charged the enemy, who were massed in the plain of Rothenthurm. The shock of the Swiss charge was irresistible, and the French fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the plain covered with dead. Another attack, directed with equal vigour and success, cleared the heights, and drove the enemy into the valley of Aegeri. A second time the heights of Morgarten saw the mountaineers of the Lands put to flight an enemy which had seldom turned its back. The foe turned, and was driven back a second time, as far as the village of Aegeri.

Three victories in one day; but useless victories. They could not advance; they had to remain on the field of battle, with their arms in their hands, ready to resume the battle on the next day. On May 3rd, however, the attack was made on the side of Arth. A division advanced on either shore of the Lake of Zug, hoping to effect a junction at Arth, and so to take Reding's position in the rear. But they were both kept in check by the steady fire of the Swiss riflemen, and forced to retreat. The division on the Rigi side endeavoured to turn the Swiss position, but were themselves outmanœuvred in the same way and driven back in confusion. So another, though equally fruitless, success was added to the list. Reding, with his small force, had still to await the enemy's attack; still to try and

guard all the points by which they might advance, with the certainty that sooner or later their position must be turned by one of them, since they could not guard all properly. The hopelessness of their situation became every moment more evident, and at the council of war, held in the evening after the success at Arth, there was a lively discussion. Some thought it dishonourable not to struggle to the last; others thought it would be enough to fight till half their number had fallen (as yet they were only decimated). The fathers of families, however, thought of their wives and children; others—the most reasonable—thought they should reserve themselves for better days, and use their present successes to obtain better terms. Reding finally was empowered to open negotiations with the enemy, and obtained an armistice for twenty-four hours. The people, *i.e.*, the army, left its position, guns, &c., and went to Schwyz to deliberate. The French, however, behaved honourably, and took no advantage of this. The terms offered were liberal enough. They were simply to accept the Helvetic constitution; their religion and property were guaranteed. They were not even asked to lay down their arms. No fine was imposed, and there was to be no military occupation; and Schauenburg only stipulated for the right of free passage of his troops in case the men of Uri should continue their resistance. There was the more need to accept these terms, as the men of Schwyz now practically stood alone; since both the Uri contingent, which had largely contributed to their success, and also that from Unterwalden, lately arrived, had withdrawn at once as soon as they heard of the negotiations. Reding pointed out to the assembly the hopelessness of their situation, and asked them to decide. He suggested submission, at the same time declaring that if their vote was adverse he would stand by them to the last. The majority were of his opinion, but the minority declared that the only course worthy of themselves and their ancestors was to face the enemy and fight to the last. All felt the humiliation deeply;

the scenes were so violent that a kind of civil war almost broke out; muskets were levelled and swords unsheathed. A priest at last put the case calmly and sensibly before them: the terms were moderate; they had no reason to distrust the offers of Schauenburg; the French had behaved most honourably. In the end the capitulation was voted by a large majority, and the men of Schwyz surrendered on the same field where, five centuries before, they had won their independence by a glorious victory.

At first sight the struggle did not seem more hopeless than in 1315. The Swiss troops under Reding were about 4,000, with the advantage of position; while Schauenburg could not probably dispose of more than 20,000 for any attack; whereas at Morgarten they were but 1,500 against 10,000; but in this case only a small part of the enemy were able to act against the Confederates. With the same spirit animating them, the same result might have been expected. But in 1315 Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden were of one heart and mind, fighting for their liberty.

In 1798 there were many half-hearted. If the men of Schwyz were determined to do or die, the other Lands were only too ready to seize the first opportunity of escaping from so terrible a position, as we see by the immediate withdrawal of their troops as soon as negotiations were commenced.

During the long period which elapsed between these two and subsequently to them, the Land Schwyz has been convulsed by various internal disturbances. On various occasions her troops have been in arms against their own countrymen in the fire of civil or religious discord. But she has never again been invaded by a foreign enemy, though the soil of Schwyz was in 1799 the scene of repeated conflicts between the armies of other European nations.

In 1315 and in 1798 she was directly attacked on her most vulnerable side; but in 1799 the movements of the contending forces were over other and less practicable routes. Schwyz is

accessible from the side of Glarus by the Pragel Pass (5062 ft.), which leads from Glarus by the Klonthal and Richisau to the Muotta Thal. From Uri the Pass of the Kinzig Kulm (6798 ft.) leads from Spiringen in the Schächenthal likewise into the Muottathal.

These passes have never been crossed by an army invading Schwyz as an enemy. While so many easy passes were open, these would not have been selected. When the French, under Generals Boivin and Massena, forced their way by Arth into the plain of Schwyz in August, 1799, the Austrians, who were supposed to be allies of Schwyz, were driven over the Pragel Pass into Glarus. In their retreat they carried off all the cattle. The unfortunate peasants indeed had little to choose between either party. Most of them abandoned their homes in the plain, and took refuge in the mountains. The French, after their success, planted a tree of liberty in the square at Schwyz; but so great was the dislike of the inhabitants that not fifteen persons of the country could be got together on the occasion. Later on the same year a Russian army, under Suwarow, advancing over the St. Gotthard to join Korsakow in central Switzerland, found its way blocked at Flüelen. With great difficulty Suwarow took his army, on September 27 and 28, over the Kinzig Kulm, again to find his way blocked by the French in the Muottathal. After endeavouring in vain to force a passage, on hearing of the defeat of Korsakow, he crossed by the Pragel Pass into Canton Glarus, and thence by the much more difficult Pass of Panix into the Vorderthein-thal.

In the last years of the eighteenth century a proposal was made to construct a carriage road over the Pragel Pass, and engineers were sent to survey the route, and to estimate the cost; but the plan was frustrated by the opposition of Uri, which feared, without reason, that the road from Schwyz to Glarus might injure the traffic over the St. Gotthard Pass.

CHAPTER XVI.

CANTON URI.

WHEN we leave Brunnen, and are borne by the steamer along the southern reach of the Lake of Lucerne, we are almost immediately in Canton Uri. We are surrounded by a grander scenery, the cliffs rise more boldly on either hand, no green slopes break their abrupt descent into the lake. As we look onward to the valley beyond Flüelen, we see its surface still enclosed by steep mountains, and beyond the fine pyramid of the Bristenstock. This is enough to fascinate the tourist who approaches these scenes for the first time; but there is another sense appealed to here besides that of sight—he is here in the midst of the scene of the action of that romantic story of the founding of the liberties of Switzerland, which has been immortalized by a great poet. On the opposite shore the Urkantone have inscribed on the Mythenstein their gratitude to the poet Schiller. Almost immediately on the right shore there appears the small meadow of the Grütli, where the Confederates, and amongst them Tell, met to concert the blow to be struck to gain their freedom. This spot now fortunately is national property, and the fear is removed that it might be exploited as a commercial enterprise. On the left hand, after passing Sisikon, appears the chapel at Tell's Platte, said to have been built on the spot where the hero sprang from the boat which was conveying him a prisoner to Küssnacht. A short half-hour from the landing-place at Flüelen is Altdorf, where Tell defied

the bailiff Gessler, and where he shot the apple from off his son's head. The tree to which the boy was tied is said to have stood until 1567, when it was replaced by a fountain, for which, in 1861, a gigantic plaster statue of Tell was substituted. The legend has failed to bear the keenness of critical investigation, but the romance remains. In Canton Uri it might still hardly be safe to express doubts of the authenticity of the events. Persons who doubted were not long ago in danger of fine and outlawry. On the way from Altdorf, the villages of Erstfeld and Silenen are passed. With scenery of great beauty there is combined some fertility, a certain amount of cultivated ground. Chestnuts and walnuts and other fruit trees occur. Near Amsteg on a rising ground to the left is a ruin which tradition states to have been Zwing-Uri, the stronghold of Gessler, but which was more likely the seat of the family of Silenen. Some say there are two ruins. But beyond Amsteg the floor of the valley rises rapidly, cultivation disappears. As Wasen is passed the valley becomes wilder, until the desolation culminates in the gorge of Schöllenen. The traveller not intending to walk over the St. Gotthard Pass should at any rate spare time to visit the Devil's Bridge and Andermatt, and then return to Göschenen. The valley of the Reuss from Flüelen to the Devil's Bridge was the old Land Uri. Urseren was not added even as a protected district until the fifteenth century. The population of the canton by the last census was about 17,000, in 1830 it was 12,500, and in 1,810 11,700. It was at that time only recovering from the troubles of the wars of the end of the century. Altdorf has now a population of 2,500. In 1810 it was only 1,600.

Canton Uri has, for its extent (415 square miles), the scantiest population of all the Swiss Cantons. On the whole it is, however, the most rugged of any. The lateral valleys, the Schächenthal and Maderanerthal on the east, and the Erstfeldthal, Meienthal, and others, on the west, contain many fine alpine pastures.

The chief occupation of the inhabitants is the breeding or rearing of cattle, which are exported in great numbers to Italy every spring. The carriage of goods and travellers over the St. Gotthard Pass was formerly a source of income.

The tax on salt, which was a cantonal monopoly, and the tolls on the St. Gotthard road, were, until a late period, the principal sources from which the canton met the charges upon it.

From its ruggedness, no canton is more exposed to elemental dangers than Uri. The gorge of Schöllenen and the St. Gotthard Pass are notorious for avalanches. An avalanche from the Bristenstock has been known to stop the course of the Reuss at Amsteg for an hour, and at this spot a bank of snow is sometimes seen in July, twenty feet thick.

Villages are often in danger from the swollen torrents. In 1762, and again in 1830, Amsteg was almost destroyed by the Kerstelenbach. The falls of rock from the mountains often cause great damage on the upper alps. About 1870, in the Gornerenthal above Gurtnellen, a mass of rock fell from the face of a cliff, which, breaking into a thousand pieces as it descended, carried destruction to the herds grazing below. Fifty cattle were killed outright, and no less than sixty-eight were so injured that they had to be slaughtered. In addition to the loss of the cattle is to be reckoned the injury to the pastures, which year by year become deteriorated. It is estimated that the mountain pastures can now accommodate only about three-fourths of the cattle they could feed formerly. In 1815 the cattle in the canton numbered 9,650; in 1833, 10,600. In 1864 the number of stossen (stoss = land enough to feed one cow) were estimated at 8,527. In some cantons the decrease is even greater.

The wild nature of this region forbids the idea of its early colonisation. The early Christian missionaries did not penetrate to it, and Uri was probably occupied later than the

other Lands.* The name occurs first in an account written by a monk of the Abbey of Reichenau, near Chur, which tells us that the Abbot Eto was banished to "Urania" by Theodobald, Duke of Alamannia, in 732 A.D., because he espoused the cause of Charles Martel. He was probably sent hither because it was so desolate a region.

In the next century we find the district in the possession of Louis the German, grandson of Charlemagne. In 853 he gave his possessions in Uri to the Frauenmünster in Zurich, of which his daughter Hildegard was abbess. From a document of 857 we learn that these possessions consisted of the two villages, Bürglen, near Altdorf, at the entrance of the Schächenthal, and Silenen, a little to the north of Amsteg. The names of other villages in the canton are not mentioned until the 13th century, Attinghausen (1240), Altdorf (1231), Flüelen (1284), Wassen (1287), Amsteg (1291), and Göschenen (1290).

Whilst many of the inhabitants were bondsmen of ecclesiastical or temporal lords, there were in Uri a number of freemen, more numerous than in Unterwalden, though fewer than in Schwyz. Though the higher criminal jurisdiction was in the hands of a Vogt, appointed by the emperor, yet the freemen of Uri had certain rights of self-government, the infringement of which they strenuously resisted. Thus in 955 they refused to make the re-valuation of their lands, which the convent steward desired for the purpose of levying increased taxes; and again, in 1196, their independence was shewn by the fact that in the dispute between Uri and the Convent of Seckingen, in Glarus, about the Urnerboden, the men of Uri acted without reference to the Imperial bailiff. On both sides of the canton there were disputes about the boundary, with Glarus on the east, and Unterwalden on the west. After many lawsuits the question was settled, in 1316, by Ludwig

* The fact of the Blacken alp and Urnerboden belonging to Uri seems to militate against this.

IV., in favour of Uri. The curious legends connected with these alps are related in chapter xx.

The upland valley of Urseren to the south of Uri was for centuries separated from it by the impassable gorge of Schöllenen. The Valais (Vallis Poenina) was placed by the Romans under the administration of the governor of Rhaetia (Granbünden). They communicated with the latter province by the Vogelsberg (Bernhardin) and Septimer Passes; and the two provinces with each other by the Oberalp Pass and the Furca. These were frequented routes long before a path was opened over the St. Gotthard, or through the gorge of Schöllenen. The valley of Urseren was under the house of Domiliasca in Disentis, in the middle of the sixth century, and Urseren was probably colonized from the Upper Rheinthal long before the Reussthal was occupied. The first communications of Uri with Urseren was when the Pass of St. Gotthard was opened, and a passage obtained through the gorge above the Devil's Bridge by means of the Stiebende (Staubende = "covered with dustlike spray") Brücke. This was probably constructed about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the attention of Uri was more especially turned to Urseren, when the office of bailiff (in 1283) and the town of Lucerne (in 1291) came into the hands of the Habsburgs. The family of Hospenthal were bailiffs of Urseren under the Habsburgs for many years, and in 1323, their interference with the traffic over the pass caused the men of Uri to occupy Urseren. The Habsburg bailiff was expelled, and the office conferred on the family von Moos. In 1332 Uri had again to intervene and drive out the people of Disentis, who had occupied Urseren. After the family von Moos died out, Urseren was governed by an Amman, and a council elected by themselves. In 1410 Urseren placed itself under the protection of Uri, and an eternal league was formed between them. In 1426 Disentis resigned all temporal claims on Urseren.

From this period until 1798 Urseren (under the protection

of Uri, which had the higher criminal jurisdiction) was almost a free and independent republic. In 1803 it was incorporated with Uri, of which it is the second administrative district, containing three parishes. Its arms are a black bear on a green field, differing but slightly from those which, according to old documents, were borne by the families of von Hospenthal, von Wolleb, and von Moos.

The relations of Uri with Urseren were chiefly influenced by the need of keeping the St. Gotthard Pass open for the purposes of trade and conquest on the side of Italy. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there were many expeditions undertaken into Italy by the Lands. In these expeditions, in the battles of Arbedo and Giornico, as well as in the great battles for Swiss liberty, Morgarten and Sempach, at St. Jacob on the Birs, and in the Burgundian wars, the men of Uri distinguished themselves: the great war-horn of Uri struck fear into the enemy's heart on many a stricken field. As in Unterwalden, the poverty of Uri led them readily to supply men for foreign military service, and this canton was one of the last to abandon the practice.

In 1798 the men of Uri fought under General Reding at Rothenthurm, and accepted the capitulation with General Schauenburg, by which they were to be left undisturbed upon accepting the Helvetic constitution. But in spite of this the unfortunate canton was occupied by the French, the people were disarmed, and property everywhere plundered, because some of the inhabitants had assisted the men of Nidwald in the heroic but desperate struggle of September, 1798. The people of Uri were discontented, hearing everywhere of liberty, equality, and fraternity, but seeing no signs of them. To their troubles there was added, on April 5, 1799, the entire destruction of the town of Altdorf by fire.

When at the end of April the French authorities proceeded to enforce the conscription, a revolt broke out. The peasants attacked the French at Rhinacht (a little south of Altdorf),

and drove them back, and a regrettable massacre of some defenceless Frenchmen took place at Burglen.

The population—men, women, and even children, imperfectly armed and without cannon—took post at Flüelen, under Vincent Schmid, and repulsed numerous attempts of the French to land. On May 8 Soult, with vastly superior forces, succeeded in effecting a landing, on which occasion the brave Schmid fell.

In the retreat up the Reussthal every advantageous position was utilised to prevent the enemy's advance. On May 8 they fought at Burglen and Attinghausen, on May 9 at Wasen. On the same day they were about to make a stand at the Devil's Bridge, but desisted at the entreaties of the men of Urseren, who feared the reprisals of the French. On May 12 they fought on the top of the Pass, and on May 16, for the last time, in the Val Leventina.

The French pressed them no farther. General Soult had now effected his object—the relief of Lecourbe, who was being driven by the Austrians up the Vorder Rheinthal, and across the Oberalp Pass.

The French now withdrew to Flüelen, and the Austrians again occupied Uri. They remained inactive until the middle of August, when they were surprised by a combined attack of the French from the lake and the western Passes. General Lecourbe crossed the Surenen, and General Loison the Susten Pass. After a severe struggle the Austrians were forced back, part of them across the Klausen Pass into Glarus, and the rest, after making a stand at the gorge of Schöllenen, were driven across the Oberalp Pass. The French had, in September, to retreat again before the Russian army, under Suwarow, advancing over the St. Gotthard Pass. At Andermatt Suwarow was joined by the Austrians, under Rosenberg, who had recrossed the Oberalp. He was anxious to join Korsakow at Zürich; but on arriving at Flüelen he found further progress impossible, as the French had removed all the boats. He

then resolved to cross by the Kinzig Kulm Pass (6,811 feet) from the Schächenthal to the Muottathal. Over this difficult path his troops had to pass in single file. The passage took fourteen hours, and the vanguard is said to have reached the Muottathal before the rearguard had left Altdorf. Many men perished in the passage, and many were taken by the French, who pressed hard on their rear.

Thus the unfortunate Canton Uri in five months had been traversed four times by invading armies, each of which in turn levied exactions upon the miserable inhabitants, who were reduced to the verge of starvation. It is said that on the whole they preferred the French occupation, as they brought some sort of supplies with them, and did not expect to be altogether maintained by the country they occupied. Again, in 1800, the canton was grievously oppressed by the passage of 20,000 French troops under General Moncey. The men of Uri laid the blame of all their sufferings on the Government of the hated Helvetic Republic. Not a man in Uri would enrol himself in their army.

Ater a series of struggles between the advocates of Centralism and Federalism, Uri, along with other Federalist Cantons, took up arms in 1802 to abolish the Helvetic Republic. The men of Unterwalden met and defeated the Centralists at the Rengg Pass, and a civil war seemed imminent. It was, however, averted by Napoleon's "Act of Mediation." Urseren now became an integral part of Uri, but the subject Val Leventina was lost. The only part of Uri which escaped the troubles of 1799 was the Isenthal, which debouches by a narrow entrance on the west side of the Lake of Lucerne, a little to the north of Flüelen. In this strong position the inhabitants of the valley were able to prevent the landing of the French, and only laid down their arms on a capitulation which was the more favourable to them, as the French wanted the troops to enforce .

attacked the Convents of Wettingen in Aargau and the Frauen-

münster in Zürich had formerly large possessions in Canton Uri, there was only one religious foundation established in the canton itself, the Benedictine nunnery of Seedorf. This village is about half an hour distant from Altdorf, on a piece of ground at the foot of the Gitsch, which is almost enclosed by the lake, the river Reuss, and the wild stream of the Balanca. The nunnery was founded, in 1097, by Arnold of Brienz (it is said in consequence of a dream), and was endowed with considerable property in the canton. It suffered serious losses during the troubles of 1799. Near the parish church is the castle of the a Pro family, the revenue of whose lands was left at the end of last century, by its owner, Colonel a Pro, in trust for the benefit of his poor relations. The family a Pro has died out, and the nuns are said to be of no use, and democratic ideas have suggested a proposal for converting both the properties to the support of an hospital and orphanage.

Canton Uri communicates with Schwyz by the Kinzig Kulm Pass; with Glarus by the Klausen Pass; with Graubünden by the Oberalp; with Tessin by the St. Gotthard; with Valais by the Furca; with Bern by the passes of Surenen and Susten. The Klausen and Surenen have probably been traversed by the people of Uri more than any other, since for more than five centuries the men of Uri have possessed extensive alps on the further side of these passes.

The pastures of the Urnerboden which lie on the Glarus side of the Klausen Pass are amongst the finest of the canton. The alp extends to the steep descent of the Fatschbach. The general custom in the Reussthal is to let out the cattle to a senn (chief herdsman) to take charge of on the Alpine pastures at a fixed price; but the families in the Schächenthal come up here themselves with their herds and spend the whole summer. In 1811 a carriage road of small dimensions was surveyed and partly made over the Susten Pass. The Canton Valais had just been incorporated with the French dominions, and Canton Bern wished to conduct its traffic with Italy entirely through

Swiss territory. The Bern traffic formerly went by way of the Grimsel and the Gries Glacier Pass. The Oberalp and Furca Passes, which connect the Vorder Rheinthal with the Valais, were used in very early times. Carriage roads were made over them about 1864. All these passes without exception witnessed the passage of armies in the eventful year 1799, and some of them many times. The St. Gotthard was one of the latest to come into use for commercial purposes. It was probably not more than a foot-track until the thirteenth century. As late as 1275 a document emanating from the Bishop of Chur and others, promises protection and assistance to merchants of divers nationalities, and to those of Lucerne in particular, in their use of the passes through Churwalen (Graubünden) to Italy. It is plain that they never would have made this circuit had a proper track been available over the St. Gotthard Pass. The track most used from Chur was by the Avers Thal and the Septimer Pass to Chiavenna.

As soon as an available road was made over the St. Gotthard, it assumed great importance. The domesday book (1303–1309) of the Habsburg possessions in Switzerland defines the extent of Urseren from the Crispalt to the Furca, and from the St. Gotthard Pass to the Stiebendebrücke, and states that to them belonged the right of controlling the traffic and of receiving the tolls between Hospenthal (in Urseren) and Reiden (near Zofingen) which were collected at Lucerne. The value of these tolls at that time varied from 360 to 1,108 pounds (2 pound = 1 gulden). In 1359, in consequence of the quarrels which followed the entrance of Lucerne into the Waldstätte, the place of collection was transferred to Rothenburg, near Lucerne, the chief seat of the administration of the Habsburg properties.

Duties were levied on almost all articles. The right of levying these was transferred by King Sigismund, along with the other Swiss possessions of Frederick of Habsburg, to the Confederation in 1415. It was placed in the hands of Canton

Lucerne because the place of collection was there. Tolls were also levied at other points along the road. A tax was levied at Flüelen which in 1776 produced 5,811 gulden. In the eighteenth century the toll was collected at Wasen. A strong gate was built over the old bridge over the Göschenen Reuss, which was closed at nightfall. Till the end of the fifteenth century the toll-taker was chosen by the Forest Cantons united, but afterwards by Uri alone. In more recent times a toll was taken at Hospenthal, which in 1835 amounted to about 20,000 fcs. The share of the canton also, in the duties levied at Dazio Grande, came to about 3,000 fcs.; and these duties, together with the salt monopoly, which produced about 15,000 fcs. (altogether about £1,600), were the chief sources from which the cantonal authorities of Uri met the charges to which they were liable.

Uri is a strictly Roman Catholic canton. The clergy are nominated by the parishes, and presented to the bishop for approval; their salaries are also paid by the same. As Uri, like Unterwalden, is a very poor canton, the payments in money are often very small; they are entitled however to receive tithes of various articles, fruit, &c., and receive also other gifts in kind, which vary with their own popularity.

CHAPTER XVII.

ST. GOTTHARD.

AS the Lake of Lucerne was important to the Lands for their communication with each other, and with northern Europe, so the St. Gotthard Pass became for their intercourse with Italy. Indeed more important, for this pass was the only one available, whereas after Canton Schwyz extended to the Lake of Zürich they and the other Lands received supplies from this direction also. The value of those communications to the Lands is seen from the way in which the outer cantons (especially Zürich) sought to put pressure upon the central cantons by stopping the supplies.

History does not inform us at what time a foot-track was first opened over the St. Gotthard. The pass was not used by the Romans. They communicated with the province of Rhaetia by the Lukmanier and Septimer Passes, and with the Valais (Vallis Pennina), which was under the authority of the govenor of Rhaetia, by the Oberalp Pass and the Furca.

The valley of the Reuss is first named in any document in 853 A.D., and we learn from the records of the Frauenmünster in Zürich, how scanty was the population at that period, probably reckoned by hundreds, where it is now by thousands.* The earliest notice we have of a track over the pass is from

	Uri	Schwyz	Unterwalden
* In 1888 the population was .	17,285 ...	49,897 ...	26,798
1835 „ .	12,500 ...	38,900 ...	23,600
1335 „ (estimate)	1,250 ...	4,000 ...	2,300

Every able-bodied man must have been under arms at Morgarten.

the pen of Albert von Stade, who made a pilgrimage to Rome in 1236. He recommends this route as preferable to the Septimer, for pilgrims coming from the west. He gives the route from Como by Mte. Cenere, Bellinzona, and the Pass to Lucerne, and on to Zofingen, with times and distances.

But it was plainly then only a small track, over which carriages could not pass. In 1220 A.D. the men of Schwyz crossed the Pass to ask Frederick II., then besieging Faenza, to give them Reichsfreiheit (immediate dependence on the empire). It is supposed that Henry VII. gave Reichsfreiheit to Uri, for taking care of this track; but more probably it was given, both in the case of Uri and Schwyz, for military service.

In 1257 A.D., Rudolph of Habsburg, as Count of Uri, had charge of the road. Under him, and his son Albrecht, the traffic increased considerably. The road was improved, and its importance was recognised, and it was probably a sense of this which made the Habsburgs, on one hand, strive with such energy to destroy the Reichsfreiheit of Uri, and to reduce it with Schwyz and Unterwalden, to a mere possession of their house; and which made the Lands, and Uri in particular, strive to overthrow the authority of the Habsburgs in Urseren, which dated from 1283. The various lords appointed by the emperor appropriated the tolls which should have been devoted to its maintenance, but the Three Lands, assisted by the towns of Lucerne, Zürich, and Basel, succeeded in stopping this abuse, and early in the 15th century had complete command of the road. In 1426 Uri was paramount in Urseren, over which the Convent of Disentis had resigned all temporal claims. Long before this, early in the previous century, the constant feuds in northern Italy caused great insecurity on the south side of the pass, and the Confederates had repeatedly to undertake military expeditions to protect their communications.* These resulted in the permanent occupation of the Val Leventina.

The route over the St. Gotthard Pass was gradually improved

* For further details see chapter iv.—"Subject Lands."

from a foot-track to a horse-track, and then to a road passable for narrow-wheeled vehicles; but even in the eighteenth century it never exceeded twelve feet in width. The great difficulty on this road was the passage of one particular point at the head of the gorge of Schöllenen, a little below Andermatt. Here the cliffs closed in on either side, and rendered a passage almost impossible. This was, however, effected by suspending a roadway by means of chains from the face of the cliff on the right bank of the stream, through which the road now passes in a tunnel. This bridge had the name of the "Stiebende (or Staubende) Brücke," probably because it was always involved in the dust-like spray of the cataract. When it was first constructed is unknown. The name is first found in a document of date about 1306, which enumerates the possessions of the Habsburgs in Switzerland. It states that the bailiwick of Urseren, which was an Imperial fief, extended from the Crispalt (Oberalp Pass) to the Furca, and from the St. Gotthard Pass to the Stiebendebrücke.

In 1707 the first tunnel was made by Peter Morettini, an engineer from Val Maggia. The construction of it is said to have been made necessary by the impossibility of getting proper beams for the hanging bridge.* This tunnel was 200 feet long, 8 to 9 feet in height, and 7 to 8 feet in width. It was lighted by a single opening towards the Reuss. In 1828 to 1830 it was enlarged to 13 feet in height and 10 feet in width.

There existed a hospice on the summit of the Pass from very early times. The earliest mention of it is the statement that a priest was sent hither in 1431 to make better provision for the accommodation of the Italian bishops, who were on their way to attend the council at Basel, since the existing building was quite insufficient. This deficiency was noticed also by Charles (Carlo) Borromeo, when he crossed the Pass in the sixteenth century to prosecute the counter-reformation

* This may have been true of Urseren, but hardly of Uri.

in Switzerland, and led him in 1560 to form the idea of establishing here a foundation for the reception of travellers of the better class, and for giving more effectual aid in circumstances of danger, and to place in it a priest. It was to be endowed with a yearly income of 100 philipsthalers (2 fl. 20 sch.). The scheme however was put an end to by his death; but the project was carried out by his successor, Frederick Borromeo, and the first priest was sent there in 1562. This priest at first lived in the common hospice, and the archbishop, in spite of the opposition of the commune of Airolo, who received the rent, determined on building a new one. Uri and other cantons assisted, and the new building was opened in 1629. It was, however, unoccupied between 1648 and 1682, and fell to ruin, probably for want of support. Before the end of this period the need for better accommodation was so much felt that Cardinal Visconti (urged by Uri) rebuilt the house in 1683. Two priests were accommodated in it, for whom, however, in this severe region, the strict rules of their order were relaxed. They were not allowed to demand anything from travellers, but might receive gifts. Some small contributions of money and other supplies came from the neighbouring valleys, from the post-office at Zürich (the postal service over the Pass was established in 1693), and they sometimes had a share of the pensions received from France. The commune of Airolo supplied them with wood, cut in the forest of Piotalla which was specially devoted to their use, and was carried up on the peasants' backs.

In 1775 this building was destroyed by an avalanche, but was rebuilt in 1777. In 1799 it was destroyed by the French, and henceforward the old hospice was the only building in use (up to 1835). The peasants in charge of this were bound to provide poor wayfarers with necessary food, and also to supply them with lodgings, if unable to go further. It is estimated that 4,000 such crossed the Pass every year. The landlord was bound to render all assistance to men with pack-horses

and carriages, as well as other travellers. He was expected to ring the bell frequently in stormy weather for the guidance of strayed wayfarers, and in case of suspected accident to search the neighbourhood to rescue the unfortunate. He was entitled to the use of the alp on the Pass, which can accommodate in the summer 45 cows and 80 to 90 sheep or goats, and might also farm on his own account.

For the additional safety of travellers a house of refuge has been built on the north side of the Pass (at the Rodunt bridge) and two on the south side (in the Val Tremola, which is one of the most dangerous parts). The stable attached to the hospice is extensive, capable of accommodating fifty horses and a large quantity of goods. On the old pack road 14,000 to 16,000 persons are said to have crossed annually, and not less than 300 horses every week. This road was not more than twelve feet wide anywhere, and it was very rarely that anything deserving the name of a carriage—in the modern sense—was taken over it. The first recorded attempt was that of the English mineralogist Greville, in 1775. The cost of such a passage, between Altdorf on the north side and Giornico on the south, at which points the road became better, was estimated at 24 carolins (each = 11 gulden, probably 30s.). Even in the middle ages a kind of postal communication was kept up over the Pass, though only in times of political importance. By means of this, during the religious wars in Switzerland (1529, 1531, 1656, and 1712) the Pope was kept informed of the course of events. When Zwingli fell in the conflict at Kappel, on October 11th, 1531, the news reached Pope Clement VII. on October 22nd. The news of the victory of the Catholics at Gubel, on October 14th of the same year, reached him on October 29th. The first attempt to establish a regular postal service between Switzerland and Italy was made at the end of the seventeenth century. In 1693 (June 26th) Herr von Muralt in Zürich, and Herr Fischer in Bern, obtained from the five inner cantons (the four forest cantons

and Zug) a concession for thirty years for maintaining the postal communication with Italy. The post left Zürich every Wednesday and Saturday at 8 p.m., and reached Milan early in the mornings of Sunday and Wednesday respectively. This was carried on horseback, and was the first regular post over the St. Gotthard. In the eighteenth century the conveyance of travellers over the pass was so badly managed that the journey from Zürich to Bellinzona, which is now traversed in seven to eight hours, occupied four, five, and sometimes even six days. The traffic with wheeled vehicles over the pass was almost entirely confined to the three summer months. This road remained without much attempt at improvement for several centuries; care only was taken to maintain the bridges and to repair places which were damaged by avalanches, rock falls, or inundations. When the new roads were made in Canton Graubünden, in the years 1818–1823, over the Splugen and Bernardin Passes, Uri and Tessin became alarmed at the very perceptible decrease of the traffic over the St. Gotthard, and at the prospect of its speedy extinction if they did not at once set to work and improve it. This had long been urged upon them, but the expense had deterred these comparatively poor cantons from the undertaking. Now Lucerne and the rest of the Confederation co-operated. The lower portion on the north side was finished in 1828. The mountain section between Göschenen and Airolo was completed by 1830. The new road had a width of eighteen and a half feet. On the north side the average gradient did not exceed eight to ten per cent., whilst the passage of the difficult descent of the Val Tremola was effected by a series of zig-zags, with a gradient of only six per cent. The engineers most concerned in the work were Karl Emmanuel Müller, of Altdorf (Canton Uri), and Meschini, Colombara, and Pocobelli, of Canton Tessin. New bridges had everywhere to be constructed, and the Urseren Loch had to be enlarged. The postal service on the new road was greatly improved, and after the new Federal arrangements

of 1848 it left nothing to be desired either as regards speed or punctuality. The Pass was seldom blocked by the winter storms; even in the days of the old track it was seldom closed for more than a week—and on the new road not more than two or three days after the storm was over. Hundreds of the sturdy peasants of Uri and Tessin, with long trains of horses or oxen and all necessary appliances, soon effected a passage for the narrow sledge, with seats only for two, on which the passengers and mails crossed in winter and spring.

After the opening of the new road, the old horse-track of course fell into disuse; many parts of it were destroyed, whilst others remain and are still used as short cuts by the pedestrian. The most picturesque relic of this road was the bridge which spanned the Reuss below the Devil's Bridge, with its slender arch, which fell in 1888. One considerable portion runs on the right bank of the river from Amsteg to the entrance of the Fellithal, below the village of Wasen. It is carried along the face of the Bristenstock, and has always been and is still dangerous from the avalanches which come down the ravines which furrow that mountain. The avalanche snow, sometimes even in July, lies many feet thick in the bed of the Reuss. The course of that river was recently stopped by a spring avalanche for more than half an hour. The most dangerous of all these ravines is the Bristenlaui, and here lives have been sometimes lost. A father and son once about to cross it heard the rushing sound which precedes the avalanche. They hurried forward to pass before the way should be barred, but were both caught, and three months passed before the bodies were recovered from their icy tomb. In this ravine the avalanche snow in late summer forms a tunnel more than 100 yards long, through which the stream flows. To avoid these dangers, the new road was carried along the left bank of the Reuss, whilst the latest route of the railway follows the right bank, but passes the dangerous part in a tunnel.

The new road and improved arrangements satisfied the

requirements of traffic for a number of years. But at last the spread of railway lines over the plain country of Europe, between 1830 and 1860, led to their extension into the more difficult mountain regions. The earliest railway which crossed the main chain of the Alps was the Semmering. This line is remarkable for many great engineering constructions, as bridges and viaducts; but the crest is passed at the comparatively low elevation of 3,000 feet, by a tunnel only 1,570 yards in length. In 1867 a line was opened over the Brenner Pass, crossing it without a tunnel, at a height of 4,500 feet. In 1873 the Mont Cenis Railway, with a tunnel of seven and a half miles, at a height of 4,200 feet. In 1882 the St. Gotthard, with a tunnel of nine and a quarter miles, at a height of 3,800 feet; and in 1885 the Arlberg Railway, with a tunnel six and a quarter miles long, at a height of 4,300 feet. On the Brenner line the first use was made of curved ascending tunnels (helicoid), to enable the line to develope in overcoming the steep ascents at Pflersch on the south of the Pass, and Schmirn on the north side. These were still more extensively employed on the railway over the St. Gotthard.

The first idea of a railway over the main chain of the Alps in Switzerland was started about 1850, by the engineer Col. La Nicca, of Chur. He proposed to extend the line of Swiss railway which then terminated at Chur, from Zürich and the Boden See, over the Lukmanier Pass into the Val Blegno, which enters the Val Leventina at Biasca, and so to join the Boden See with the Lago Maggiore. The central cantons, however, and Basel, were energetic in advocating the claims of the St. Gotthard route, and Zürich soon united with them. However, without the help of the neighbouring states, Italy and Germany (which were most interested in a railway over the Swiss Alps), it was impossible for Switzerland to carry out the project; and on these two the choice of the line of route depended. The balance turned in favour of the St. Gotthard. After various conflicting interests between

east and west Switzerland had been settled, a contract for the construction of the line was made on October 15th, 1869. The main points of this were as follows. The lines to be constructed were the main one joining Lucerne, Immensee, Goldau, Bellinzona, Chiasso; with branches, Goldau to Zug, Bellinzona to Locarno on the west side of Lago Maggiore, and Bellinzona to Pino on the east side. The inclination of the line was nowhere to exceed 25 °/₀₀ (40 in the 1,000). The great tunnel between Goschenen and Aerolo was to be straight, and the line was to be double throughout. The subvention, to be given by the different states was fixed at 85,000,000 francs (£3,400,000), of which Switzerland was to pay 20,000,000, Germany 20,000,000, and Italy 45,000,000. The Swiss Federal Council undertook to superintend the work. The company was formed on December 6th, 1871, at Lucerne, and had for its president Dr. Alfred Escher of Zürich, to whose industry and energy the success of the project is largely due. Herr Gerwig of Carlsruhe was the first chief engineer. Herr L. Favre of Geneva had charge of the great tunnel, and undertook to complete it in eight years. Here the work began on September 12th on the south side, and at the north side on October 9th, 1872. The portions in the plain country of Tessin were completed by the end of 1874. The works were proceeding satisfactorily, when reports were spread that the cost was likely greatly to exceed the extimates. This was unfortunately too true. The new chief engineer, Herr Hellwäg, estimated the probable increase at 102,000,000 of francs (£4,080,000) if the original programme was adhered to. A commission of experts was appointed, who reported that by constructing the line single instead of double, by increasing the gradients in some parts, and by deferring the construction of the lines Zug to Arth, and Lucerne to Immensee, the extra cost might be reduced to 40,000,000 of francs. Of this the company were to find twelve millions, and Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, ten, ten, and eight respectively. The Swiss

portion was divided between the Federal Administration, the Cantons, and the Swiss Railway Companies, in the proportion of nine, four, and three respectively. A special law had to be proposed to make the first of these possible, and it was carried in spite of much opposition both from east and west Switzerland, which considered their commercial interests were likely to be injured by the St. Gotthard railway. The president was forced by the pressure of public opinion to resign. The work was again resumed with vigour, and the line was completed and opened officially on May 23rd, 1882, and to the public on June 1st, 1882. The line is remarkable for the number of tunnels, of which there are, besides the great tunnel, no less than fifty-five, twenty-seven on the north side, and twenty-eight on the south side of the pass. The collective length of the whole is no less than forty-one kilometres (twenty-five miles five furlongs), and amounts to three-fourths of all the tunnels in Germany. The great tunnel is the most remarkable work of the kind in the world, being nine and a quarter miles in length, exceeding the Mount Cenis tunnel by one and a half miles, and the Arlberg tunnel by three miles. The experience gained and inventions made in the construction of the Mount Cenis tunnel were utilized and improved upon in the St. Gotthard. The boring machines were worked by compressed air supplied by pumps worked by the falls of the Reuss. The air when liberated kept the atmosphere of the heading pure, whilst between the mouth and the heading it was hardly possible to breathe. Towards the close of the work the progress made was double that of the Mount Cenis tunnel. The hindrances with which Herr Favre had to contend with were manifold; the difficult nature of the rock, the occurrence of cracks and of soft layers (letten), but especially of watercourses. The pressure also was found to be very unequal in different parts, requiring the tunnel almost everywhere to be cased with masonry, especially under Andermatt, where the casing exceeded a yard in thickness. Progress was hindered, though only upon one

occasion, by a strike amongst the workmen in July, 1875, a less common occurrence than in the present day.

The enterprising Herr Favre did not live to see the completion of the great work. Whilst visiting the tunnel, on July 19th, 1879, in a part where the air was particularly vitiated, he was seized by a fit of apoplexy, and died in the arms of his companion. His native canton, Geneva, honoured him with a distinguished funeral. The tunnel itself is his noblest monument.

On February 28th, 1880, the borings from the two ends met. A small tin box, containing the photograph of Favre, was passed through from the south side. On the following day the last dividing wall of rock was blasted away. Of the other tunnels on this line the curved ascending tunnels are the most remarkable. Of these there are no less than seven, two being on the north side, and one on the south side, of the village of Wasen, and four in Canton Tessin, at Fiesso, Faido, Giornico, and Lavorgo. One of those at Wasen exceeds a mile in length, and the others are but little short of it, and in several cases the curve exceeds a semi-circle. At Wasen the line passes the village no less than three times, and the vertical distance between the upper and lower lines, where they approach each other most nearly, exceeds the horizontal. It is well worth the traveller's while to spend a short time, either on the north side at Wasen, or on the south side at Faido, to make a personal examination of these remarkable works.

Since the opening of the railway the St. Gotthard Pass remains practically closed in winter; in summer a certain number of tourists traverse it in carriages or on foot.

On the old pack-road the average number of passengers was estimated at 16,000; on the improved road, in later years (1870–1880), upwards of 60,000, of whom as many as 20,000 received relief in various forms from the hospice.

CHAPTER XVIII.

UNTERWALDEN.

THE men of Unterwalden are said to have assisted the Emperor Honorius to defend Rome from the Goths, at the end of the fourth century, A.D. The Cantonal arms, the keys of St. Peter, were bestowed by Pope Anastasius I., and the title of "Defenders and Protectors of the Faith" was bestowed by Pope Gregory IV. But the name of Unterwalden does not occur until the 14th century. Previous to this we hear only of two separate districts—Stans, the lower valley (vallis inferior, Nid-dem-Wald), and Sarnen, the upper valley (vallis superior, Ob-dem-Wald).

It is not probable that the first colonists were, as has been asserted, of Scandinavian origin, though Unterwalden, since its soil was more fertile, was probably colonized before Schwyz or Uri. When first known to history Unterwalden was in the hands of many nobles and ecclesiastical foundations. The houses of St. Leger in Lucerne, the Frauenmünster in Zürich, the abbeys of Muri and Munster in Aargau, and the local monastery of Engelberg, had large possessions. John of Seldenburen, who founded Engelberg, is said to have owned half the canton.

Amongst the temporal lords, the chief were the Counts of Lenzburg, Fribourg, and Habsburg, the last of whom, holding the office of Kastvogt (bailiff, administrator) to several of the religious houses, had almost absolute authority over their possessions.

There were more than forty strongholds of different nobles in the canton. This circumstance, along with the fact that there were fewer freemen in Unterwalden than in the other Lands, hindered Unterwalden in her progress to liberty. The division of the canton into two halves is said to have taken place about 1150 A.D., at a Landsgemeinde held at Wysserlen (near Kerns, in Obwald).

There is no doubt that the chain of heights, extending from the Joch Pass to the Stanzerhorn, which seldom falls below 1,800 metres (the lowest point is the Juchli Pass, 1,740 metres), offered a serious obstacle to the inhabitants of both portions of the canton. It is, however, said that the names Ob-dem-Wald and Nid-dem-Wald refer to a particular wood, the Kernwald, near the village of the same name, and that this wood, or rather the difficulty of passing it, formed the objection to one common administration.

The chapel of St. Jacob, on the north side of the Kernwald, and which is of unknown date, stands on the site of a fall of rocks, which came from the Stanzerhorn, and covered the plain between the boundary of Obwald and the village of Rohren with rubbish. Another rock fall of still earlier date covered the whole surface from Bohl near Sarnen to the Rotzberg near Stans; and though both of these falls are antecedent to historical times, the difficulty of passage at this point may have conduced to the separation. The objection adduced above is, however, far more probable, since it was especially difficult for deputies from Engelberg to attend meetings in Sarnen. Even in the present day, when communications are much improved, special indulgences were allowed by Obwald to the deputies from Engelberg. They need only attend one meeting out of every three, and special attention was then paid to Engelberg business. A larger money allowance was also made to them.* Their allowances, however,

* These privileges were withdrawn in 1867, but a separate court was formed for Engelberg.

would hardly satisfy the modern ideas of paid members of Parliament, since even in extravagant Lucerne the members of council were only allowed 5*s.* per day for attendance, and 5*d.* an hour for expenses in travelling to and from Lucerne; which allowances are now reduced to 3*s.* 6*d.* per day, and 4*d.* per hourrespectively. After Unterwalden acquired her independence the two separate administrations continued. All the offices were in duplicate except two, of which one was always in the hands of Nidwald and the other of Obwald. The monastery of Engelberg administered its own possessions until 1798, when it was attached to Nidwald; but in 1816, in consequence of the divisions in Nidwald (in which Engelberg had no share), it was finally incorporated in Obwald. The united canton of Unterwalden is surrounded by a chain of mountains whose ends are on the Lake of Lucerne at the Niederbauen and the Lopperberg, and whose depressions nowhere fall below 4,000 feet above the sea, except at the Brünig Pass (3,294 feet). Its border, however, does not strictly follow the summit line of the enclosing chain. At one point it falls within it, at another it extends beyond it. In 1316 the fine pastures of the Blacken alp, on the west side of the Surenen Eck, were adjudged to belong to Canton Uri. There had long been a dispute about these, and the judgment probably rested on the fact of previous occupation. A curious legend about this is to be found in chapter xx. The border of the canton now crosses the valley at the fall of the Tätschbach, where the boundary stone is to be seen. On the opposite side of the canton the parish of Hergiswyl, with its extensive alps and woods, though beyond the border line of hills, belongs to Unterwalden. This district belonged originally to the family of Littau, who sold it to Heinrich von Moos, Landamman of Uri, for 308 gulden and two malters of corn (one malter = 200 lbs). It afterwards passed by marriage to the family of Tottikon of Stans. From them the parish of Hergiswyl, in 1378, bought their freedom for the sum of 708 gulden. This

family, along with other nobles of Unterwalden, became impoverished by their long struggle with Bern for the possession of Ringgenberg, on the Lake of Brienz, which lasted for more than thirty years. In this struggle Rudolf von Erlach, the hero of Laupen, was slain by Joseph von Rudenz, a knight of Giswyl. Other portions of land, which seem more naturally to belong to Unterwalden, are the pastures of Matt, on the north side of the Burgenstock, which are in Canton Lucerne, and the district of Seelisberg, which belongs to Uri. About the former of these there was a dispute with Lucerne in the fourteenth century for many years.

Though no great battle was fought in Unterwalden, she yet had a great part in the struggle for liberty, and valiantly supported her fellow Lands. Here, in 1308, the oppression of the bailiff Landenberg was avenged, and the castles of Rotzberg and Sarnen were destroyed. In 1315, on the day of the battle of Morgarten (or more likely on the following day), attacks were made on Unterwalden both from the side of the lake and from the Brünig Pass. The men of Lucerne endeavoured to land both at Stansstad and at Buochs, but both attacks were repulsed. The women of Buochs behaved with such valour that the privilege was granted to them of approaching the altar to communicate before the men. The troops of Strassberg approaching from the side of the Brünig are said to have been dismayed at seeing amongst the Unterwaldners the banners taken at Morgarten, on which they retreated without venturing an attack. Part of them fled over the Rengg Pass to Lucerne, and part by Giswyl into the Entlebuch. For nearly five centuries after this no fighting took place in Unterwalden. She sent her contingents to aid the other cantons in their wars, but there was peace within her own borders. When the French Revolution broke out, in 1798, the Three Lands refused to accept the Helvetic Constitution.

After a brave resistance by General Reding, Schwyz was obliged to submit, and Uri followed her example. The half

Canton Obwald also gave way, but Nidwald persisted in her refusal. In this they were encouraged by the exhortations of the clergy, who declared that the principles of the new Constitution would destroy them, both soul and body.

On September (7 to 9) a series of attacks were made on the unhappy Nidwald. One part of General Schauenburg's force advanced from the Haslithal over the Brünig to Sarnen, and thence by Kerns to the moory plain near the Rotzloch, called the Drachenried, where they found part of the inhabitants of Nidwald posted. Another detachment endeavoured to land at Kehrsiten, on the north side of the Burgenstock. Repulsed here, they succeeded in landing at Hüttenort, nearer Stansstad. There was then no road along the shore to the latter place, and the French climbed over the shoulder of the Burgenstock, losing a good many men in doing so. At the Drachenried the French met with a desperate resistance. It is said that if the men of Nidwald had been only a little stronger at this point, they could have held their ground. As it was, after performing prodigies of valour, they were forced back, and the two divisions of the French army met in the plain of Stans. The unhappy Nidwald was given over to fire and sword, and to all the horrors that attend the capture of a besieged city. The villages of Ennetmoos, Kehrsiten, Stansstad, Buochs, and the suburbs of Stans, were burned. Four hundred and fourteen persons were slain, amongst them one hundred and two women, who fought by the side of their husbands and brothers. Some of these perished in the church of Stans, where a priest was slain at the altar. The painter, Wyrsch, a blind old man of eighty years, was one of the victims. The French lost upwards of 2,000 men, and Schauenburg said that he had never seen such desperate fighting.

After the fury of the struggle was over the French themselve assisted the unfortunate inhabitants. The Landsgemeinde at which the new constitution was accepted was not held until October 9. Efforts were soon made in various quarters to

succour the down-fallen people. Heinrich Pestalozzi, of Zürich, and Philip Albrecht Stalder (cure of Escholzmatt, in Entlebuch), two of the most zealous workers in the cause of the people, established a school for orphan children in Stans. But their efforts failed, partly from the want of means, but partly also from their very novelty. They were hindered also by the opposition of the clergy, and by the continuance of the wars in various parts of Switzerland. In 1815, although Obwald submitted, Nidwald again refused to accept the constitution decreed by the congress of Vienna, and only gave way when occupied by the Federal troops.

In supplying troops for foreign military service, a practice once common in all the Swiss cantons, Unterwalden was one of the most active. It was always a poor canton, and the inhabitants set great store by the wealth which accrued to them from this source. Their opposition to the Reformation was largely due to the expressed intention of the Reformers to abolish mercenary service. Their troops took part in all the great battles fought in Europe from 1315 to 1798.

In 1840 Obwald and Nidwald had each one company in the Neapolitan service; Obwald one company, and Nidwald a half company, in the Papal service. The foreign mercenaries are said to have demoralised their cantons when they returned home. But they are said in Unterwalden to have taught the people to build better houses, and to live more comfortably, and to have introduced a number of valuable fruit trees, whose produce has much benefited the canton.

Of the Forest Cantons, Unterwalden has been more than any under clerical influence, as is plain from their repeated opposition to constitutional changes. The regulations in the canton about the observance of Sundays and feast days, about indulgence in various amusements, as dancing, &c., are more rigidly observed than in the other cantons. Here the inns must be closed during divine service, except to travellers. On Sundays and holidays a driver may not follow his trade without

special leave. No one on these days may carry burdens, drive cattle, buy or sell, do any business, or make any calculation. Even haymaking on these days requires special permission; whilst in other cantons farmers, in case of bad weather, are free to save their crops.

The incomes of the clergy in Unterwalden are lower than in any canton except Tessin—falling in many cases as low as 600 francs a year, and seldom rising above 2,000 francs. However, there are also contributions in kind. Some have positions as teachers in the schools, and others, in the more remote districts, have charge of the public-houses.

Unterwalden has had also more hermits than any other canton. The most famous of these was Bruder Klaus* (1467–1487). Revered, however, as he was during his lifetime, and still regarded with greater reverence than any other saint, his advice and influence had no effect in checking the inclination of his countrymen to foreign military service. None were more conspicuous in the disregard of his wishes than his own relations. In the fourteenth century also a hermit lived on the Burgenstock, who was greatly revered by the people. His bones are deposited in the chapel at St. Jost.

Unterwalden Nid-dem-wald is divided into six parishes —Stans, Buochs, Wolfenschiessen, Beckenried, Emmetten, Hergiswyl; and Ob-dem-wald into seven, namely: Sarnen, Kerns, Sachseln, Alpnach, Giswyl, Lungern, Engelberg. These parishes are in Ob-dem-wald called Kirchgang, or Kilchgang (churchgo = parish), and their members Kirchner or Kilchner (churchgoer = parishioner). In Nid-dem-wald they are called Uerti, [a word derived according to some from Ort (a place), and, according to others, from an old word meaning a division] and their members Uertner.

In these thirteen parishes there are twice as many corporations, in whose hands is all the property, such as arable and meadow land, woods, alps, moor lands, &c., except in cases where such

* See chapter x.

has passed by purchase into private hands. All inhabitants of the parishes are not members of these corporations, but only those belonging to the old families. Settlers from other villages or cantons have no privileges. Even in the old families those only are privileged who have attained the age of twenty-four years, and have fire and light of their own, *i.e.*, are householders. In later years this rule has been relaxed, so as to allow several members of the family living together under the same roof to be privileged. The privileges of use are now often commuted for a money payment, the whole property being let, and the produce divided amongst the members. Some of them, such as Stans and Buochs, distribute as much as £4 a head to the members. These corporations formerly were each a sort of aristocracy, which exercised the right of appointing, not only the local council and its officers, but also those of the cantonal council. These powers were limited at the time of the French Revolution, by the admission of the settlers from other cantons to equal political rights. But these latter, even at the present day, are almost altogether excluded from the privilege of using or enjoying the common property. Members formerly forfeited their privileges by absence, but this rule has been mostly relaxed, even in the case of residence in foreign countries.

Though on the whole the Landsgemeinde of Canton Uri has maintained the greatest adherence to old forms, in the half-canton of Nidwald one custom is observed, perhaps the strangest of all. Whilst in other cantons the office of Landweibel (chief usher, head constable), if it has not fallen into abeyance, has at least lost most of its importance, in Nidwald this officer, on certain occasions, appears as the representative of the people. When the national assembly meets, the Landamman asks the people if they wish to hold the Landsgemeinde. The Landweibel, on the part of the people, replies, "Honoured Sir Landamman, we wish to hold the Landgemeinde according to ancient custom." "Then," replies the Landamman, "we will

commence by asking God's blessing." The Landweibel examines and declares the results of the voting; he, in a manner, installs the new Landamman when, in the name of the people, he wishes him success in the discharge of his office. He occupies a conspicuous position in view of the whole assembly, but etiquette here does not forbid the cigar, which only leaves his lips whilst he delivers his formal sentences, to be resumed as soon as he has done so. In some of the cantons which still hold the Landsgemeinde smoking is forbidden, not only to the electors, but also to strangers who are present at the assembly.

The Drachenried above-mentioned, where the combat of 1798 took place, was so named from a dragon (drachen) which had its abode in a cavern on the Rotzberg, called the Drachen Loch. This cavern, which resembles the "windholes," is in the face of the cliff on the south side of the Rotzloch. It has a large dome-shaped entrance, which then divides into several horizontal passages. The approach to it is difficult. It served as a place of refuge to many of the fugitives of Nidwald in 1798. There are in Unterwalden several "windholes," in which in the warmest summer the temperature seldom rises above 5° Reaumur (43° F.). The currents of air are strongest in the month of May, and the variations in them serve the herdsmen as a barometer. The most remarkable of them are the Fyken Loch, the Arni Loch, and the Höllen Locher. The two first are in the ridge which divides the Melch alp, in Obwald, from the Arni alp, in Nidwald. They communicate with each other, and form an irregular passage about one and a half miles long, with sharp descents in it, where a rope is required. The entrance on the Arni alp is larger, and the cattle find a refuge in it from the midday heat. The sand found in the cavern contains gold, which is said to have been once much more abundant.

The Höllenlocher (Hell-holes) are on the Niederbauen above Seelisberg. There are two of them, the Great and the Little

Hell-hole. They descend at a high angle, and a stone dropped into them is heard rolling for sixteen seconds. They have never been explored (1836). There are various legends about these "wind-holes," some of which are given in chapter xx. The water from the Melchsee flows into a cavern called the Staubi Loch, and reappears several miles lower down.

On the mountains called Schwalmis, south of Beckenried, is a chasm where "mondmilch" (stalagmitic matter in a semi-fluid state) is found, and where the rock in places exudes salt, which the cattle lick eagerly. Such a place is called by the hunters, "gemslecke" (chamois lick).

A similar chasm of smaller dimensions is found in the wood at the foot of the Burgenstock, west of Buochs. It is about two hundred yards long, from six to ten feet broad, and twenty to thirty feet deep. The underwood covers it so closely that without a guide it is difficult to find it. Here also in 1798 many of the Nidwalders found a refuge. The brook called the Friedhöfler, which falls into the lake near this spot, communicates with subterranean channels. For the greater part of the year, both summer and winter, it is without water, but after rain its bed suddenly fills, and after flowing for a few hours suddenly becomes dry again. This rapid rise has led to the tradition that whoever calls the brook by name would be carried away and drowned.

Canton Unterwalden communicates with Bern by two passes, the Brünig (1,004 metres = 3,294 feet), which leads from Lucerne to Meiringen, and the Joch Pass (2,215 metres = 7,267 feet), which leads from Engelberg into the Genthal and to Innertkirchen. The former is one of the lowest passes in the Alps. For centuries traversed only by a horse-track, it was crossed by a high road about 1864 (?), and by a railway in 1886 (?). The construction of the railway was tolerably easy on the side of Obwald, there being only two places where the cog-wheel system was required, namely, up the Kaiserstuhl

near Giswyl, and between Lungern and the summit of the pass. The descent to Meiringen is much steeper.

Over the Joch Pass is the usual route from Engelberg into Canton Bern. The convent formerly (? still) carried on its communications with Italy by the Joch Pass, by the Grimsel from Bern into Wallis, and thence by the Gries Glacier into Val Formazza. It is said that on some occasions, when there were difficulties on the route of the St. Gotthard Pass, the convent assisted Canton Uri in conveying goods (especially crystals) for sale in Italy.

Before the opening of the carriage road over the Brünig, the communications of Unterwalden by land were difficult. There was no way round the base of the Lopperberg. The opening of the road and the railway have stimulated trade in some degree in Unterwalden, but the increase is mainly drawn from the flood of tourists. The occupation of the inhabitants is, as formerly, almost exclusively pastoral.

In scenes of pastoral beauty, soft slopes of green backed by rugged summits, none of the Forest Cantons can surpass, if they sometimes equal, Unterwalden. If these are seen from the railway they are lost all too soon for real enjoyment. Still as in former days, the greatest amount of pleasure is obtained by the traveller who journeys leisurely through such a country, and most of all when he traverses it on foot.

These beauties were made known to the British public earlier than any other part of Switzerland.

In 1827 there was exhibited in Paris, and afterwards in London, a moving diorama entitled "The Valley of Sarnen."* It was the work of several French artists, and met with considerable success. The author of the *Picturesque Description of Canton Unterwalden*, Aloys Businger, schoolmaster of

* N.B.—The dimensions of this panorama are not given, but it must have been a pigmy to the panorama of the Bernese Alps intended for the Chicago exhibition, which is to be fifteen metres (= fifty feet) high, and 115 metres (= 380 feet) long (!). This also is in the main the work of French artists.

Stans, in Nidwald (who has also published *Sonnets on the Fatherland*), has written a poem on this diorama in hexameters, of an extract of which the following is a rude translation—

"Never imagined the peasants, peacefully dwelling in Sarnen,
How fair their own land was, till distant Lutetia's artist
Painted the beautiful valley in truthful classical outline:
Winning applause, both from friend and from critic severest.

. . . . . .

Even beyond the sea, to the seat of Britannia's splendour,
The much-praised painting was brought in beauty completed,
And, moving along as by magic to tuneful accordance,
Received from the crowd a richly deserved admiration.
Beside the Thames river are seen Sarnen's swift-flowing waters;
Landenberg's stronghold, with its towers, is next to Westminster Abbey;
The dome of St. Paul's contrasts with the cell of the hermit;
And the herdsman's hut on the alp with the nobleman's palace.
The Londoner finds himself, in a strange and wonderful manner,
Transposed to our vale, with the clouds flying swiftly across it,
Its lights and its shadows, and sees with delighted remembrance
Each spot that he traversed on foot, or in swift-rolling carriage."

By the terms of the Swiss Constitution of 1874 all cantons are bound to provide for the education of the children in reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, and elementary religious instruction. Education is better in the industrial cantons than in those where the occupations are mainly pastoral, and in Protestant Cantons (or where the religions are equally divided) than in Catholic.

In the Forest Cantons, especially in the villages, education labours under many difficulties. The houses are often widely scattered. Snow and storm in winter make the attendance difficult, and in summer whole families are often on the alps. Thus the school is often only open in the winter, and the attendance then interrupted. Want of means prevents increasing the number of schools, and the Catholic clergy often hinder, rather than assist, efforts in that direction.

Though the religious instruction is necessary in all schools, it is most strongly insisted on in Catholic Cantons. The teacher is often expected to take the children to mass every morning, and to look after them in church, and during processions. The children generally begin to attend school when they are six years old.

In the poorer cantons the teachers' salaries often do not exceed 700 francs; in exceptional cases of a rich parish or town they may go up to 2,500 to 3,500 francs.

The education in Uri and Unterwalden is not so good as in Schwyz and Lucerne. In Schwyz are two famous seminaries, at Rickenbach and Ingenbohl.

CHAPTER XIX.

ALPINE EXPLORATION.

THE ideas of people in early times about the Alps were very different to what they are now. They were regarded as horrors to be shunned, as obstacles which had to be crossed, but very seldom as anything to be admired. In the middle ages expressions of approval are very few and far between, and they come from travellers passing from north to south, and not in the opposite direction. The softness and warmth of the climate, and the luxuriance of the vegetation on the south side of the Alps, made the wild desolation and grandeur of the mountains less endurable. There are instances of a person's ideas of the Alps being completely changed by a residence in Italy. The archæologist Winckelmann, when passing the Alps from the north side in 1756, was enraptured, but returning after twelve years' residence in Italy, he was quite differently impressed, and had only a sense of desolation, and none of beauty. In fact it is only in the present day that the beauty of Nature in the Alps has been adequately recognised. It is only when the Alps began to exercise such an attraction that their exploration commenced. The hunters visited mountains in search of game; the man of science climbed a peak in search of plants or minerals; but only in this century have they been visited by the lover of nature, and Alpine exploration cannot be said to have begun before the middle of the present century.

Mountains were climbed occasionally. The Pilatus in 1518,

the Rigi by 1750, and other mountains of more pretensions before 1800; but these are only isolated instances. In the Forest Cantons perhaps half a dozen mountains, approaching or exceeding 10,000 feet in height, were climbed before 1850.

In Canton Lucerne no summit much exceeds 7,000 feet. In Canton Schwyz the higher summits are in the east, towards the Klausen Pass. The highest point is the Böse Faulen (9,200 feet).

In Uri the first considerable group of mountains encloses the Maderanerthal. On the north side the Kleine Windgälle (9,808 feet) was first ascended by Herr G. Hoffman, of Basel, in 1844, from Amsteg. The mountain is surrounded by a terrace and furrowed by several ravines, by several of which the summit can be reached. The Grosse Windgälle (10,473 feet), was first ascended by the same in 1848, and by Messrs. Raillard and Fininger in 1863. This mountain has two summits of nearly equal height. The second was long considered inaccessible, but was at last climbed by Mr. M. Holzmann, with the guide A. Baumann, in 1876, by creeping round a ledge to a point whence it was accessible. The Gross Ruchi (10,289) was first climbed by Rev. J. Sowerby on July 12th, 1864. The Kleine Ruchi, or Bockzingel (9676) was climbed by an English party about 1870.

The Scheerhorn (10,814) was climbed first by Herr Hoffmann in 1842, and followed by Messrs. Raillard and Finiger in 1863. One of their guides, Joseph Marie Trösch, had also been with Herr Hoffmann. The Claridenstock and Todi are more properly in Canton Glarus. On the north side the only passes to the Schächenthal are the Ruchi Pass, between the Gross and Kleine Ruchi, not unfrequently used by hunters; and the Scheerjoch, between the Scheerhorn and Claridenstock, which leads by the Hufi Glacier to the Klausen Pass. On the south side the Düssistock (10,703) was first ascended by Professor Escher, of Zürich, in 1842. The Oberalpstock (10,924) was

ascended three times in the last century by the monk Placidus a Spescha, of Disentis; the first ascent about 1790, and the two others in 1799, all from the side of the Vorder Rheinthal. In 1847 it was ascended by Herr Hoffmann by the Strim Glacier, and a steep couloir on the south-west side of the summit. The first English ascent was by the Rev. J. Sowerby, on July 10th, 1864, also from Sedrun. In the same year the mountain was crossed from Sedrun to the Hotel Alpenklub by the Brunni Pass and glacier. The ascent has been since frequently made from the Maderanerthal. In 1879 the Rev. F. T. Wethered and son, with the guide Albin Baumann, ascended by the Regenstalden Firn, the steep hanging glacier on the north-west side of the mountain. In 1889 Herr E. Hoffmann made the ascent direct from Amsteg, involving a climb of more than 9,000 feet.

The Weitenalpstock (9873) next towards the south, a rough but not difficult mountain, was first climbed by Rev. J. Sowerby, in 1866.

The first ascent of the fine pyramid of the Bristenstock (10,086 feet) was made by Herr Lusser, of Altdorf, with a number of Amsteg men in 1823; and subsequently Messrs. Hardy and Kennedy, without guides, in 1857.

On this side of the Maderanerthal, at the head of the Brumithal, are the Passes of Cavardiras to Val Rusein, and the Brunni Pass to Disentis.

A pass—Oberalpjoch—between the Oberalpstock and Weitenalpstock was made in 1866.

Through the Etzlithal is the Kreuzh Pass to the Vorder Rhein Thal.

A fine walk leads from the Etzlithal round the Bristenstock into the Fellithal.

Through the Fellithal lies a rough passage between the Piz Giuf and Crispalt on the east and the Rienzerstock on the west, to the Oberalp-see.

North of the Devil's Bridge the valley divides into the

Oberalpthal, Unteralpthal, and the Reussthal, which latter again sends off the Urserenthal to the Furca.

Between the first two of these lies the Six Maduna or Piz Badus (9584), which was first climbed by Placidus a Spescha early in this century.

The Pizzo Centrale (9,846 feet) is easily ascended in two or three hours from the Hotel Mte. Prosa, and has become a well-known point of view.

The Mte. Prosa (8,983 feet) was ascended by Saussure in 1783. Between the Pass of St. Gotthard and Urserenthal is the range to north of Val Bedretto, whose chief summits are the Pizzo Rotondo (10,489 feet), first ascended by Herr Victor Haller, on August 5th, 1869, and Pizzo di Pesciora (10,247). Ascents of this mountain are said to have taken place in 1875, by a Basel professor, and by Signor A. Carones, of Milan, in 1885, but there are doubts about these, and the first authentic ascent is that of the Rev. W. A. B. Cooledge, on July 13th, 1891. These two peaks are just outside of Canton Uri, on the border of Wallis and Tessin.

Further north, between the Urserenthal and the Göschenenthal, are the Spitzberg and Lochberg, between which lies a frequented pass from Realp to Göschenen alp, under 10,000 feet.

The Gletsch Horn (10,850 feet), at the angle where the ridge joins that of the Galenstock, was crossed on September 12th, 1889, by Herren Hoffman and Seelig.

The ridge at the head of the Dammafirn contains the Tiefenstock* (11,526 feet), climbed in 1886 by Herr A. Lorria.

Dammastock (11,918 feet) first ascended by Herr Hoffmann Burckhardt, of Basel, on July 28th, 1864.

Rhonestock (11,820 feet), by Herren Fischer and von der Mühl (two Basel students), in July, 1867.

* On the ridge between the Tiefenstock and Gletschhorn was found, in 1868, a cave containing a large quantity of smoky quartz, some pieces weighing several hundredweight. One of these is in Kensington Museum. About 30,000 lbs. weight were got out.

Maasplankstock (11,165 feet) in 1887, by Herren Seelig, Treichler, and Näf. This ridge is traversed by various passes.

The Damma Pass between the Rhonestock and Dammastock, and the Maasplankjoch at the north end of the ridge are very difficult, and the ridge is everywhere difficult of access. Many excursions in this district have been made, in the year 1888 and 1889, by Herren Seelig and Hoffman, with the guides Joseph Zgraggen of Amsteg, and Jos Gamma of Göschenen. The ridge was reached at various points and the principal summits ascended; all the expeditions being difficult and laborious. The descent to the Rhone glacier would have been easier than returning by the same route; but for most of these expeditions only twenty-four hours were available (from 9 p.m. of one day to 9 p.m. the next) to go from Zürich to the Gletscherhorn and back!

The Galenstock (11,798), first ascended in 1845 (August 18th), by Professor E. Desor and Herr Dollfuss.*

On the north side of the Geschenenthal are the Keblethal and Voralpthal, at the head of which are the passes of the Thierberglimmi (10,500 feet), and the Sustanlimmi (10,181 feet), both leading to Stein Alp on the Susten Pass.

The Gwächtenhorn (11,247 feet) was ascended by Messrs. R. W. E. Forster and Hardy Dufone, with the guide von Weissenfluh, in 1861.

The Sustenhorn (11,523), which rises grandly on the west of the Vorulpthal, was first ascended by Gottlieb Studer, August 7, 1841. On the opposite side, dividing it from the Meienthal, are the peak of the Stücklistock (10,850), first ascended by Herren Ed. and E. F. Hoffman, August 28, 1855; and the Fleckistock (11,214), first climbed by Messrs. Raillard and Fininger, on July 21, 1864, and several times in the years

* On this occasion the cornice broke, as it also did on the occasion of an ascent by Rev. J. Sowerby in 1869. The people at the Furca Inn saw it fall, and were alarmed for the safety of the party.

1888–89 by Herr E. Hoffman, who effected descents both by the Ruti Firn and Kartigel Firn into the Meienthal.

Between the Meienthal and the Erstfeldthal the Reussthal receives the several small valleys, the valleys of Gorneren, Intschi (Schindlach), and Leutasch, which descend like diverging rays from the group of the two Spannorter and the Schlossberg.

The Gross Spannort (10,506 ft.) was first climbed by an English party on July 9, 1867, from the side of the Spannörter Joch.

The Klein Spannort (10,332), which is much more difficult, was first ascended by Herr Eugene Ochsner on August 5, 1876.

The Schlossberg (10,280) which closes the Erstfeldthal towards the Surenen Eck, was climbed by Herr E. Cattani, with E. Infanger, in 1863.

The Kronte (or Kronlet) (10,200), which divides the head of the Erstfeldthal from the head of the Gornerenthal, was climbed in 1868.

These four mountains enclose the glacier called the Glatten Firn, which sends down its branches into the Gornerenthal and Erstfeldthal, and over it lie Passes to Engelberg, the Schlossberg Lucke (8,632), and Spannort Joch (9,609 ft.), first crossed by Mr. F. W. Jacomb, on August 4, 1864.

All these ascents and passes are facilitated by the erection of the Spannort Hut (Hotel Uto) (6,500) below the Spannort Joch on the Engelberg side.

The range of the Spannorter is continued into Unterwalden by the Wickelplankstock (9,765), Grassen (9,666), and the and the Wasenhorn (9,613).

Between the last two is the Grassen Pass from Engelberg to the Meienthal.

Separated from the Wasenhorn by the Wenden glacier is the highest summit in the canton, the Titlis (10,627 feet). This was probably the first mountain in the Forest Cantons over 10,000 feet above the sea, which was ascended by other

than chamois hunters. An ascent is said to have been made by a monk of the convent of Engelberg as early as 1739. This is doubtful; but on September 14, 1785, Dr. Feierabend, the physician of the abbot, achieved the ascent, accompanied by eleven persons, two of whom were monks. As this was one of the earliest high ascents the following extracts are given from a letter written a few days later by Dr. Feierabend:

"About 2 o'clock in the morning of September 14, the weather being fine and clear, I set forth. After ascending through Gerschne and Unter and Oberlanb, we reached at break of day the summit of the Lanbergvat. Having taken some refreshment, and reposed ourselves for a quarter of an hour, we put on our warm gloves, and pursued our course, like giants of old, to scale the steep slopes of Mount Faulblatten. We continued for about an hour along the piked ridge of this mountain, tottering by the side of tremendous precipices, and twice climbing an ascent almost perpendicular. We could not observe any trace of the smallest vegetation. Having gained the highest point of the Faulblatten, we arrived at a glacier which, being fortunately covered with fresh snow, rendered the ice less slippery than usual. Hitherto our course had been attended with some danger; but from hence we ascended, and reached, with little difficulty, the top of the Titlis, called Nollen. But here we were obliged to cross a deep chasm, and to mount the sides of the ice, which were as perpendicular as a wall, by forming steps for our feet with the iron spikes of our poles. Below us was a valley of ice about sixteen miles in length, descending rapidly towards Oberhasli. It was now about ten in the morning, and the sun was extremely bright. . . . Immediately below us we noticed the abbey; and we heard the sound of several mortars, which the abbot ordered to be fired as a signal that we were also seen. By means of a small telescope I observed the fire and smoke, and five minutes elapsed before the sound reached us; not in a straight direction, but re-echoed among the surrounding rocks."

The cold prevented the party from staying more than three-quarters of an hour on the summit, where they left a black flag. They regained the abbey safely at 5 p.m.

"We felt no other inconvenience from this expedition, than that our faces were swelled, and our skins peeled, from the reflection of the sun, and that for some hours after my return to Engelberg I lost my sight and my hearing, both of which, however, I soon recovered. Undoubtedly the Titlis is the highest mountain in Switzerland, excepting Mont Blanc, to which it is not much inferior."

To the west of the Titlis is the fine summit of the Wendenstock (9987 feet), first ascended by Mr. T. V. C. Bastow (Trin. Coll., Oxon) alone, on July 26th, 1873. This peak is much more difficult, and is ascended only from Engstlen.

North of the valley of Engelberg is the fine mass of the Uri Rothstock, which lies entirely in the canton. Its most important summits are the Blackenstock (9,586 feet) on the north side of the Surenen Eck, probably climbed very early, but now seldom visited, except by chamois hunters; the Uri Rothstock (9,633 feet), climbed by Herr Zeller Horner in 1834, and probably earlier by Herr Lusser (Altdorf); the Engelberger Rothstock (9,250 feet).

These enclose between them the Blumlis alp firn, descending towards the Grossthal, and the Kleinthal firn, descending into the valley of the same name. These two valleys unite at Isenthal.

The Uri and Engelberger Rothstock are frequently climbed either from Engelberg or Isenthal.

The Rothgrätli (8,419) an easy pass between Isenthal and Engelberg. These ascents are rendered much easier by the club-hut on the Planken alp, at a height of 2,305 metres (7,562 feet).

CHAPTER XX.

LOCAL TRADITIONS.

IN a district like that of the Forest Cantons, so full of fine scenery, varying from the softest beauty to the wildest grandeur, we might reasonably expect that legends would be found in greater abundance than elsewhere—that valley and mountain, river and waterfall, rock and cave, would each have their story. Here, however, they are more frequently connected with the living things—real or imaginary—on the land than with the land itself. Almost the only one of the latter kind is the belief that Alpine pastures which are now covered with rubbish and useless, were once a paradise of fertility. Nearly every valley has some legend of this sort. Thus, south of the Urnerboden, where the glaciers come down from the Clariden, was once an alp of exceeding fertility. The cows on it were milked three times a day, and gave twice as much each time as other cows. The senn (herdsman) was proud of his dog Paris, of his best cow Brändis, but above all of his sweetheart Kathie. For her nothing was too good; the paths were for her laid down with cheese and covered with butter. But he was less kind to his mother, to whom he gave only bad milk and other loathsome food. The mother hereupon cursed her son. Heaven heard her; the earth opened and swallowed up the senn and his sweetheart. With a crash like that of the judgment-day, the rocks and ice came down and covered the beautiful pastures, which henceforth were a desolate stony waste. The senn and his sweetheart, his dog and his cow,

are still seen, and the lowing of the latter is heard. The legend says that the Brändis has her teats set with thorns, but that if a brave senn could be found to catch and milk her without crying out for pain, the spell would be broken; the rocks and ice would disappear, and the fertile alp would be restored. There is hardly a valley in some part of which this tradition does not exist.

Then there are a multitude of superstitious beliefs, which are still adhered to in many parts. Such was the belief that before the cattle are driven on to the alp they must pass over a fire, else they will be unruly and quarrelsome all the summer; that all things born on a "Frohn fast" day (the Wednesday in the Ember Week) see spirits on that day. The animals are slaughtered, the human beings on that day are all their life-time subject to the attacks of evil spirits, and can only go on their way in quiet when they walk on the right hand of some other person. When cakes are baked in a house, the first one must be given to a dog or cat; the other cakes are thus better. Many of these beliefs are common to all Christian lands, as that on Christmas-eve the cattle acquire the faculty of speech, and of foretelling future events. A peasant once went secretly into the cow-house, on Christmas-eve, to hear the conversation. An ox said, "What would our master say if he knew that in a week I should have to draw his corpse to the church-yard?" "Well," thought the peasant, "I can hinder that at any rate." So he went and fetched an axe, and tied up the ox to deliver the fatal blow. But as he struck he slipped, and cut his leg so, that he died of the wound. Again here the belief in the "Erdmannchen," or "Bergmannchen" (little men of the hills), or what we call "Brownies," is common. When properly treated they do all sorts of household service, and *vice versa*. Curiously enough, in these legends, the "Brownies" are afraid of the Föhn (south wind), and excuse themselves from doing their work because the wind dries them up.

There are some curious traditions about the "wind holes." Thus it is said that a criminal condemned to death was offered a free pardon if he would descend into the Höllenlocher (Hell-holes), which are on the Niederbauen, near Seelisberg. He consented, and was let down by a long rope. On returning after a long absence he said, that after long wandering about he found three men asleep round a table. One of them awoke, and asked him the year. On his telling him, the man took him to a window, whence he could see a number of soldiers, in Unterwalden colours, on the ground, apparently asleep. He was asked if he knew any of them. On his replying in the negative the man said, "They will sleep till 1800, and then appear at Rothenthurm, and advance to Lucerne, and the Hauenstein" (near Olten).

This is supposed to be a prophecy of General Reding's victory at Rothenthurm in 1798, and of the hoped-for re-conquest of Switzerland by the Urkantone.

The Arni Loch, above the Trübsee, is said to communicate with the Fyken Loch on the Tannen alp, above the Melchsee. The sand in this cavern contains gold, and this fact has given rise to various legends of treasures found here. Gold diggers from Venice are said to have extracted vast wealth from it. Such a one came once to Arni alp, and asked the herdsmen to go with him into the Arni Loch. At first they refused, but at last a venturesome young fellow said that he would go. At the entrance the Venetian lighted two wax candles, and warned the man that if he uttered any exclamation, whatever he might see, it would be at the risk of his life. He then began to read aloud out of a great book. Upon this a great noise was heard in the interior of the cavern. The enchanter continued reading, and the noise increasing, until at last the man uttered a cry of alarm. The noise increased tenfold, the man was violently whirled out of the cavern, and thrown down the rocks. His fellow herdsmen took him up for dead. He recovered, however, and told them about the enchanter's prohibition, but

remained more or less an idiot for the rest of his life. The enchanter was never seen again.

This Arni Loch was visited in 1667 by the philosopher Loretus, who found great difficulty in reaching the entrance. Here he heard noises and human voices, when he knew certainly no one could be near the spot. At the same time a number of icicles and a mass of snow fell upon him, so that he hastily beat a retreat.

An old peasant of Unterwalden declared that his father had once seen in the Arni Loch a vast hall, whose walls shone like gold. Strangers on the way to the Arni alp are still asked, "Are you looking for the gold hole?"

There is a tradition about the Enziloch, and about another "wind-hole" near Wolfenschiessen, that whatever you place on the ground at the entrance in the evening will be cleared away by the morning.

Other caverns are said to have been the abode of the fabulous animals called dragons. One of these creatures lived in the cavern now called Drachenloch, on the Rotzberg, about 1250 A.D. It killed cattle, sheep, and goats, and sometimes even people, and was a terror to the neighbourhood. A man of Unterwalden—Struthan Winkelried—who had been knighted for bravery by Frederick II. at the siege of Faenza, was to be banished his country because of a homicide, but was offered a pardon if he would attempt to kill the monster. In full armour, with sword and spear, he approached the cave. He had wrapped the skin of a newly-slain sheep about the end of his spear, and when the dragon emerged, instead of attacking the knight, it began to sniff at the fleece, the spear was thrust down its throat, and it was then despatched with the sword. In joy at his victory the knight threw the sword into the air, and the drops of blood which fell from it penetrated through the joints of his armour and poisoned him, so that he died. Another story is told of a cooper at Lucerne, about the year 1400. He went up into the woods of the Fracmont, near Herrgottswald,

to look for wood suitable for his trade, and in passing through a wild gorge he slipped, and was precipitated into a deep hole which turned out to be the mouth of a cavern. Here he found no less than three of these fabulous creatures, which seemed to have settled themselves there for the winter. It was impossible for him to get out again, and he was at first much alarmed, but took courage on finding the creatures tolerably quiet, and not disposed to molest him. Observing that they licked the wall, he did the same, and on the salty exudation he managed to get through the winter, though he suffered much from cold. When at last the spring-time came, and the creatures, as is their wont, prepared to leave the cavern, he watched their proceedings sadly, as there seemed no hope of escape for himself. Two of them had left, and the third was on the brink of the opening, when he turned round, cast a look at his unfortunate fellow-prisoner, and then at his own tail, which was hanging down, as much as to say, "Only take hold of that, and I will pull you out." He plucked up courage, seized the tail, and in a moment was safe on the ground outside. The dragon went off swift as an arrow. The rescued cooper, to commemorate his deliverance, had a "messgewand" (altar cloth) made, as handsome as his means allowed, on which was embroidered the figure of a dragon. This was placed as an *ex voto* in the Hofkirche at Lucerne.

R. Cysat, in his *Collectanea*, relates that in 1580 the Prior of the Convent told him that he had heard this story from his mother, who knew the cooper (!).

The same author relates that in the year 1503 a party of young men from Lucerne went to hunt on the Pilatus. In the wood above Malters one of them, who by chance was separated from the rest, perceived what he thought was the trunk of a fallen tree. On approaching it, both the sense of sight and of smell convinced him that it was a dragon sleeping. He struck it on the head with his axe, whereupon it started up and flew away. The ground on which it lay, and the trees which it

had touched, were scorched. The people of Lucerne sometimes saw tongues of fire pass from the Pilatus to the Rigi. These they imagined were flying dragons. These signs were invariably followed by storms and inundations.

How the Blacken Alp came into the possession of Uri is thus related. Many hundred years ago a shepherd boy tended sheep on the Surenen Alp. The source of the Engelberger Aa was once called Surenen. The alp then belonged to Engelberg. When the boy wanted meat he used to kill a sheep, and now and then he took the skins to Urseren to exchange for cheese. Once when he arrived there a flock of sheep had just come from Italy. These pleased him much more than his own, and he begged and prayed the herdsmen to give him a lamb. They at last promised to do so if he would kneel down and repeat a Rosenkranz (a series of "Paters" and "Aves"). The boy said he had learned this from his mother, but had seldom repeated it. However, he said the prayers, and received the lamb. His love for it was boundless. It must eat with him, sleep with him, and be always by him. Then he thought that as he had been baptized the lamb should also be. He went down to Attinghausen, broke open the baptismal font, and took of the holy water. Then he baptized the lamb with the usual formula. On this a terrible storm burst. The loving, gentle lamb changed into a frightful monster, which rushed upon its master, and left him weltering in his blood. Henceforward the monster endured neither man nor beast upon the Surenen alp. The alp was now of no value, and the Engelbergers offered it to the men of Uri for a couple of "schillings." But they could no more make use of it than Engelberg.

One day the Council of Uri, assembled in the Lion at Altdorf (the oldest inn in the village), were talking of the Surenen affair. A strange man, of diminutive size, listened to the conversation, and at last said he could help them if they would fill his glass twice with wine. Gladly they satisfied him.

He then told them they must get a milk-white bull-calf, and let it suck for seven years, and each year have an additional cow to suck. This bull would then be able to kill the "Greis" (so the monster was called).

With some trouble they found such a calf in the Schächenthal, and were prepared to give a good price for it; but its owner made them a present of it. It grew so strong and fierce that in four years it was quite unmanageable. The cow-house on the Waldnacht alp is still to be seen.

When the time was completed a pure maiden had to be sought to lead the bull against the monster. Such a one was found in Attinghausen. She confessed and communicated at the convent in Seedorf.

A great procession went up with the maiden to the alp. Here she was to lead the bull by the ribbon which bound her hair. The savage beast meekly followed her, whilst the people followed to the Surenen Eck. The girl was told to lead the bull forward until he scented the monster, and then she was to loose him, and return as quickly as possible without looking back, whatever she might hear.

The people on the Eck heard a frightful roaring. A cloud of smoke rose up which obscured the sun, and suddenly they saw a white object, supposed to be the maiden's robe, fly over the rocks. Then a great silence. Descending, they found the "Greis" and the "Stier" both dead. The latter was beside the stream, whither he had gone to drink after his struggle. The girl was never seen again. She had looked back and perished.

The alp was rid of the monster, but not altogether. When an animal (as sometimes happens) dies suddenly,* the herdsmen say, "The Greis has taken him." Every year a procession goes from Attinghausen to the Surenen alp to avert these dangers. From one of this bull's horns was

* This is said to happen from drinking the very cold springs which are found on the alp.

made the great "war-horn" of Uri, which was lost in the Italian wars.

About the Urnerboden, tradition tells us that the men of Uri and Glarus had long had a bitter strife about the boundary. At last, to settle the question, it was arranged by the elders of either canton that on the day of the equinox (probably September 21st) a man should start at cockcrow from either side (the starting-points unfortunately are not mentioned, but they were probably Altdorf and Linththal) and run towards the Klausen Pass, and that the point of their meeting should be the boundary. The runners were chosen, and both cantons endeavoured to ensure that the bird to give the warning should be an early one. The men of Uri starved their bird, whilst the men of Glarus stuffed theirs. When the appointed day came, the cock of Uri crowed when the dawn was scarcely visible in the heavens, and the runner started. But at Linththal the rosy light had filled the sky, the stars had paled, and still the cock slept. Half the parish with sad faces surrounded him, but it was a point of honour not to wake him. At last he spread his wings and crowed, and the man of Glarus started very much behind time. When he reached the top of the steep ascent above the fall of the Fatschbach, he perceived the Uri runner descending from the Pass, and they soon met. "Here," shouted the man of Uri, "is the boundary." "Nay," said the Glarner, "be just, (?) and give me back a portion of the pastures you have won." At last he consented to take the boundary back as far as the other could carry him up hill on his back. He struggled up a considerable way, but at last sank down dead under his load. The points where he started and where he fell are still shewn. As in the case of the Surenen alp, the question was probably one of prior occupation. Some think, therefore, that these parts of Uri were colonized before Glarus or Engelberg.

A similar tradition exists about the boundary between old and new Land Schwyz in the Alpthal.

Half an hour from Willisau (in north-west of Canton Lucerne) there stands on a hill a farmhouse called Bösegg. Before it in front of a small chapel is a pistacio tree (*Staphylea pinnata*). A legend says that the farmer once went with his wife and son on a pilgrimage to St. Jacob. On their way they had to spend the night at an inn. The evil-minded landlord hid a gold cup in the young man's bag. He was pursued and arrested as a thief, and to the great grief of his parents was hung. The father and mother, however, went on to fulfil the pilgrimage they had vowed. At St. Jacob they laid their sorrows before the saint. As they knelt they heard a voice, which assured them that their son was not dead but was still alive, though hanging on the gallows. They were to return to the town and tell the bishop. They found the bishop at dinner, and to him they told their story. Just then a dish of fowls—two hens and a cock—was brought to table. Then said the bishop, "These fowls will as soon rise from the dish, as your son be alive on the gallows." Hereupon the fowls stood up in the dish. On going to the gallows, not only did they find their son alive and well, but the gallows leaned over towards them, and gently deposited the young man on the ground. To commemorate the event, the peasant cut a branch of a tree, which he planted before his house, where it grew into a fine tree. The fowls were kept in the church and fed there. After three years the hens laid three eggs, which produced two hens and a cock. Then the old birds died, and after three years three more eggs were laid, and so on until the present day.

As about dwarfs, so there are various traditions about giants. The following, entitled "The Tailor and the Giant," is one of the most remarkable. In various respects it corresponds with legends of our own country, in particular in the manner in which the giants allow themselves to be cheated. Once on a time there were two giants who used iron rods for walking sticks, and agreed to go about together until they found a

third as strong as themselves. On their way they crossed the Schrattenberg, in Entlebuch. One of them dislodged a large stone, which rolled down hill. A sound of much cursing came up, and a man appeared below who abused them greatly for waking him. Big as it was, the stone had not hurt him. They were glad, and went together as good comrades. One day they set to work to see which of them could strike the rock the hardest. The first took a run and punched a hole in the rock as big as his fist. The second took a run and punched a hole big enough to take half his head in. Then the third ran at the rock with his head, and drove it into the rock up to his shoulders. But the rock slipped, and jammed his head in so that he perished miserably. Presently another of the comrades was cut off by some accident, and the third, in his anger and grief, resolved to have vengeance on the first living thing he met. This happened to be a poor little tailor. The giant clenched his fist and rushed towards him. The tailor was in a great fright, but put a good face on the matter. "Come on," he said, "I'm as strong as you." The giant was nonplussed, and said he would have a trial. On this he lifted a very heavy stone, and called on the tailor to do the same. "Oh!" said the tailor, "that's nothing; I can crumble gravel to powder in my fingers." The giant picked up a handful, and tried in vain. Meanwhile the tailor had got some bits of cheese out of his bag, which he easily rubbed small. This feat impressed the giant immensely. With such a comrade great renown was to be had. So they went on and came to a fine town, where the king had his palace. But the town was in mourning. There was in the neighbourhood a dragon, which demanded every day a human victim. The victim was chosen by lot, and at last the lot had fallen on the king's daughter. The king proclaimed that whoever would free his country from the monster should receive his daughter and a vast fortune. Now our two friends thought they would try. "With my cleverness," thought the tailor, "and his strength, we shall surely do

it." So they settled their plan. The giant was to be armed with a hammer weighing several hundredweights, and the tailor with an equally heavy iron rod. The tailor could not even lift his, much less carry it. So he said he had some affairs to settle, and asked the giant meanwhile to carry both rod and hammer towards the dragon's hole. He would soon catch him up. So he did before he had got half-way, and began to talk to the giant about rice porridge, of which the giant was passionately fond; and hearing his favourite dish spoken of, thought of nothing else, and carried the weapons to the mouth of the hole. Here they agreed that the giant should enter the cave and drive out the dragon with his hammer, whilst the tailor posted himself before the entrance to hit him with the iron rod as he went by. The tailor knew that he could not even lift the rod, and only hoped that the dragon would go by so fast as not to notice so insignificant a person as himself. Here he was greatly mistaken, for the dragon found time to stop and swallow him up.

But the pause was fatal to him; the giant was on him in a moment, and finished him with the hammer. The tailor, however, was cut out alive. The giant laughed at him because he had muddled the thing so, and had now no claim either to the king's daughter or the fortune. But the clever tailor said, "Don't make such a noise; you ought to have let me finish what I was doing. Know that I jumped down the dragon's throat on purpose. I should presently have turned him inside out like a glove, and then have gone in triumph to the king's palace clothed with the living dragon. What a delight both for the king and his daughter!" The giant (as is the nature of giants to do) swallowed this astounding statement, and allowed the tailor to appear before the king with him as joint claimants for the lady and the fortune. When the king was puzzled how to choose between them, the tailor whispered to him, "Your majesty, let the one of us two be the happy man who can eat most porridge." The giant was all impatience until a mountain

of porridge was set before them. The contest began, but, to the astonishment of the giant, the tailor still went on eating when he himself was full to bursting. He was obliged to confess himself conquered. The tailor had both the lady and the fortune, but the giant envied him neither of these so much as his power of eating porridge, and he never rested until the tailor told him how he did it. The truth was that the tailor slipped the porridge into a bag inside of his coat. But he told the giant that he had slit his belly to let the porridge out. The giant immediately proceeded to put this into practice, and so there was an end of him, and the tailor at last was freed from his dangerous rival.

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